The Communist

10c. DECEMBER 1940

ELECTION RESULTS

EARL BROWDER

LABOR'S TASKS

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

THE WAR CRISIS AND CANADA'S FUTURE

TIM BUCK

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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

The Meaning of the Election Results. Quiescent Mass Moods of Disillusionment With Roosevelt Becoming Active Again. Imperialist Promises and Maneuvers. The Role and Responsibilities of Reformist Leaders. The New Stage of Struggle for Working Class Independence and the People's Front. The Imperialist Bourgeoisie Seeks Stronger Mass Bases. Roosevelt and the Reformists. Willkie and the Middle Classes. The Purposes and Aims of the Willkie Loyal Opposition. Supplement and Alternative to Reformism. Can the Masses Be Freed From Roosevelt by Supporting Willkie? Only a Policy of Consistent Proletarian Class Independence Can Do the Job. Contribution and Achievements of the Communist Party in the Elections. Browder's Report to the National Committee. Communist Emergency Convention Projects Struggle for Repeal of Voorhis Act. Makes Adjustment to New Situation and Reaffirms Loyalty to Working Class Internationalism and Teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

ALMOST on the morrow after the elections, the processes of disappointment and disillusionment with Roosevelt became active once more among wide sections of labor and its allies. Set afoot soon after the outbreak of the war, in September, 1939, by the sharp swing of the Roosevelt Administration toward activized imperialist intervention abroad and internal reaction at home, these processes among the masses never really ceased to operate. They were there all the time, in a quiescent state, even when the bulk of labor and large sections of the common people generally went to the polls on November 5 and cast their votes for Roosevelt. But in the absence of an anti-imperialist people's front party able to break away from *both* capitalist parties large masses of labor and its allies, confronted by the Republican Party with a *direct* representative of Big Business, still clinging to the weakening belief that the interests of the common people and of true national defense are safer in the hands of Roosevelt than in those of Willkie, divided and confused by the reformist and Social-Democratic leaders, labor and large sections of its allies were manifestly unready and unprepared for a decisive break with Roosevelt and for independent class political action in the elections.

They voted for Roosevelt but not without misgivings. Deep in their hearts and minds they continued

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uneasy and anxious, even though partly reassured by Roosevelt's fine promises (for peace, democracy and social reforms) and by the persuasions of his reformist agents in the labor movement. But the inevitable had to come and is coming. The count of the election votes was hardly over but sufficiently advanced to indicate his re-election, when the President immediately sounded the note of "hard times" ahead. Hard times for the masses of the people, not for their exploiters and oppressors. And in the subsequent days, the movement towards further involvement in war and for sharper attacks upon the rights and economic standards of the masses was so openly and brazenly accelerated that no one could mistake its meaning. And so, the old processes of disappointment and disillusionment with Roosevelt are becoming *active* once more, instead of being quiescent as they have been for a while. Only now the mass disillusionment is bound to develop more rapidly and deeply and among wider masses. *To guide this development and to raise it to higher levels of political consciousness is the major task of the advanced detachment of the working class.*

Why is this the perspective? It is so for the following reasons: First, because the solemn promises made to the masses by Roosevelt for peace, democracy and social reform are bound to be violated; they are already being violated. Not only that. They will be violated rapidly and outrageously despite the efforts of the Roosevelt Administration to do it under camouflage and with maneuverings, because this flows from the objective logic of the entire present course of the American imperialist bourgeoisie, the course for imperialist aggrandizement abroad and reactionary dictatorship at home.

It will be recalled that there were two main phases to Roosevelt's election campaign. In the first phase he sought to rest his case mainly on his "record," to capitalize his New Deal past, without engaging in too many specific promises for the future. He seemed to be particularly anxious not to make such promises on the question of war and peace. And in this he was helped considerably by the Willkie tactic of not making the peace question "an issue" at the outset of the campaign. Then came the second phase, the shorter one, that led directly to election day. Here Roosevelt began not only to speak up against the monopolies and the exploiters of the people, which he studiously avoided doing in the first phase. He also began making specific promises for the future, especially to keep America out of war, to keep this country at peace.

Why this change? Because he had discovered that the masses were particularly distrustful of him on the question of peace, having misgivings also on the questions of democracy and social reforms. Because he had discovered that progressive labor, and the Communist Party as part of it, has *successfully* struggled for the past year for the anti-imperialist people's front under labor's leadership to be built

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without Roosevelt and against him. Because he had discovered that Willkie's demagogic efforts in the latter phase of the campaign to exploit the peace question as well as Roosevelt's failures in domestic affairs were meeting with favorable response from large sections of the petty bourgeoisie of the small towns and Middle Western farms; that these demagogic efforts of Willkie were meeting with favorable response even among certain groups of organized as well as unorganized workers. Having discovered that these moods among the masses may endanger his re-election, moods and attitudes among the masses which the struggles of the Communist Party and its election campaign with Comrades Browder and Ford have successfully clarified and crystallized, President Roosevelt obviously *felt compelled* to step down from his "record" and reluctantly to begin making specific promises for the future.

This was the kind of a concession to the anti-imperialist and anti-war moods of the masses which the imperialist bourgeoisie and its two parties were determined not to make in this election campaign. Not even in the shape of demagogic promises. They were fearful of thus strengthening these very moods, knowing full well that such promises will be quickly and openly violated. They were fearful of the inevitable consequences of such violations, the hot resentment among the masses against the imperialists and their spokesmen, the disillusionment that will follow and the quickened tempo of mass struggle along the lines of the anti-imperialist people's front. But the course of the election campaign in this particular respect proved stronger than the wishes of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The anti-imperialist and anti-war moods of the masses raised and developed in struggle by progressive labor and by the Communist Party, together with the rivalries and contradictions within the camp of American imperialism itself, and the leading role of the Communist Party headed by Browder, in the struggle *against the reformists,* to free the masses from the Roosevelt "leadership" *and for labor's leadership in the nation*—these are the reasons for the last-minute change in the election maneuvers of Roosevelt and Willkie, for their concessions to the masses in the shape of demagogic and deceitful promises to keep America at peace and to steer a course of democracy and social reforms.

Now, following the elections, with these promises indelibly marked on the minds of the masses of the people, and with the record of *violation* of these promises growing day by day, if not hour by hour, the processes of disillusionment with and opposition to the imperialist bourgeoisie are bound to develop with an accelerated pace, especially with the Roosevelt "democratic leadership." This will take place, not by itself, nor will it automatically grow from moods of disillusionment with the Roosevelt leadership into independent anti-imperialist action of the masses under the leadership of labor. It will do so only in the measure in which

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the advanced detachments of the working class organize and lead the masses in the struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie as the ruling class; in the measure in which the masses find as an alternative to Roosevelt, *not a Willkie*, but an organized and effective people's front headed by labor; in the measure, above all, in which the masses are freed from reformist influences, in which the masses make an end to reformism in the labor movement, in which progressive labor moves forward to leadership on the path of the anti-imperialist people's front to the positions of Leninism.

And this brings us to the second reason for the indicated perspective of a more rapid and profound disillusionment of the masses with the imperialist bourgeoisie and the Roosevelt "leadership." It is the special role which the reformist and Social-Democratic leaders have played in the election campaign and the terrific responsibilities assumed by them for its outcome.

These reformist leaders will have a tremendous deal to answer for, to the masses, in the coming days, weeks and months. For it was their policy of reformism and class collaboration that kept the working class disunited, obstructing its more rapid progress to fuller political independence and to leadership of the people against the imperialists and war-makers. It was their policy of reformism, especially that of the Hillman group, that has been poisoning the masses with the "Roosevelt leadership." In doing so, the Hillman group was most particularly instrumental in slowing up the maturing process of mass breakaway from Roosevelt towards class independent political action without the Roosevelts and against them; that is, the reformist leaders, and most particularly the Hillman group, proved the main instrument of the imperialist bourgeoisie for preventing the *timely* crystallization of an anti-imperialist people's party headed by labor to challenge effectively on a mass scale the two imperialist parties in the national elections.

In short, it was primarily the Hillman reformist group that bears the main responsibility for the fact that the wide masses of labor and its allies, those not yet ready to vote for Browder and Ford, had been forced to the "choice" between Roosevelt and Willkie; and having been deliberately forced by the reformist leaders into this sort of a choice, the bulk of the workers and large sections of their allies were led by the Hillmans into voting for Roosevelt.

The war-making and reactionary doings of the Roosevelts will be the responsibility of the reformist leaders, and primarily that of the Hillmans. Disillusionment of the masses with the Roosevelt "leadership" will be disillusionment of the masses *first of all* with the policies of reformism, with the leadership of the Hillmans. In fact, only in the measure in which the advanced detachments of labor destroy the influence of reformism and defeat among the masses the machinations of the Hillmans, in the same measure will larger and ever larger masses of workers and their allies enter

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the people's anti-imperialist front against the ruling class and against the Roosevelts and Willkies.

More than heretofore the masses will need to struggle daily against the intensifying offensive of the imperialist bourgeoisie — for peace, security and civil liberties. In carrying on these struggles the masses will undoubtedly confront new difficulties, not only in the form of greater persecutions and intimidations from employers and government but also the combining forces of the reformist and imperialistically corrupted bureaucracy and aristocracy of labor. The Roosevelt Administration will use these corrupt forces in the labor movement as one of the main weapons of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the present period for hamstringing the working class and paralyzing its efforts to protect and improve its conditions.

But there are also arising new opportunities. As indicated in the foregoing, the outlook is for a more rapid and wider development of the masses of labor and its allies towards political independence and activity. There will be among the masses less and less faith in "democratic" capitalist politicians, and more and more faith in the class independence of labor and in its leadership of the people, against *all* capitalist politicians and against imperialist rule in general.

To guide this development and to raise it to higher levels of class political consciousness and activity is the major task of the advanced sections of the American working class.

IT IS fully evident that "our" imperialist bourgeoisie is very uneasy about the internal political outlook. It is worried. And it is trynig to prepare for all eventualities.

At first glance it is hard to understand why the imperialists should feel uneasy about the internal political outlook. Haven't they succeeded, with the help of the reformist and Social-Democratic leaders, in preventing the emergence of a mass anti-imperialist party in the elections? Haven't they also succeeded, by intimidation and terror and violation of the Constitution, in preventing the registration in the elections of a substantial mass vote for the Communist Party? These are no small successes, remembering that the Government remains in the hands of a bourgeois-imperialist party and that the other party of the imperialists has received the votes of nearly one-half of the electorate. Why, then, should the imperialists feel uneasy about the internal political outlook?

The answer is: *the weak foundations* upon which these imperialist successes rest. The bourgeoisie knows of the profound processes of disillusionment with imperialist rule that are going on among the masses. It also knows that these processes are bound to become more rapid and intense under the impact of the accelerated imperialist and reactionary course of the ruling class. And knowing all this, the bourgeoisie must inevitably be asking the question: Will the reformist bureaucracy and aristocracy of labor prove strong enough in the coming period to keep labor and its allies

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in check? What can be done to strengthen them? And isn't it time to start to prepare some "alternative" to reformism should the latter begin to crack under the pressure of mass awakening and labor independence?

Various answers to these questions are being formulated today in the imperialist camp. And, naturally, the inner contradictions and rivalries in that camp have a good deal of influence on the nature of the answers. The Roosevelt Administration would seem to be determined to develop further its "old" line, namely, to use as its main weapon among the masses the reformist bureaucracy and aristocracy of labor. For this purpose, the Roosevelt Administration is seeking to place the labor movement completely under the domination of its own lieutenants in the unions, the so-called Hillman outfit in combination with Green and others. But that is not all. Having found in the results of the elections that considerable sections of the middle classes in the small towns and on the farms have switched over to Willkie, the Roosevelt Administration is also seeking to build up its own agencies among these sections of the population. And the first signs of evidence are to be found in the efforts of the LaGuardia-Norris group to continue their organization—the National Committee of Independent Voters—on a permanent and nationwide political basis.

The Roosevelt Administration had to take note of the fact that its popular plurality dropped from 10,797,090 in 1936 to an estimated 4,846,238 in 1940 and that its percentage vote of the two-party total decreased from 62.5 to 54.5. Equally important is the precise nature of this decrease. It was most striking in the Midwest farm area, having dropped 25 points in North Dakota and from 11 to 17 points in South Dakota, Kansas, Colorado, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Montana (Gallup). Large numbers of farmers, and that must mean also considerable numbers of small and middle farmers, who voted for Roosevelt in 1936 switched to Willkie in 1940. On the part of these masses, it was undoubtedly a misdirected expression of protest against the terrific inadequacies of the New Deal agrarian measures, and Roosevelt's warmongering imperialism.

There were also serious defections from Roosevelt to Willkie among the petty bourgeoisie of the cities, not only in the small towns where Roosevelt's standing was never too good as compared with the Republicans, but also in the larger towns and cities. Roosevelt carried pretty nearly every city of more than 400,000 population but with decreased majorities. Even in the country's eighteen major cities, where he piled up a popular plurality of 2,414,366, Roosevelt's percentage vote in these cities of 60.3, while larger than his national percentage of 54.5, was *smaller* in comparison with his 1936 national percentage of 62.5. On the basis of every available information, it is safe to say that these defections occurred mainly in petty-bourgeois groups, secondarily among

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the workers, overlapping with various defections among national groups (German, Italian, Irish, etc.).

Of course, Roosevelt can also register certain gains, but not among the masses. He undoubtedly made certain gains among bourgeois circles. His gains among the bourgeoisie are most clearly shown in the increased Democratic vote of such Republican states as Maine and Vermont.

In the light of these figures, which point to a weakening position of the Roosevelt branch of the imperialist camp among the middle classes of city and farm and to a corresponding strengthening of the Willkie imperialist group among these circles, the current maneuvers of both imperialist groups among the masses can be better understood. As already pointed out, the Roosevelt Administration seeks to strengthen the reformist Hillman group in the labor movement, and looks for new "radical" and "liberal" agencies to operate among the middle classes, such as the permanent organization of the LaGuardia-Norris group. The Democratic Party *alone*, which was never sufficient for Roosevelt among the masses, is proving to be less and less adequate.

And what about Willkie? It is now fully evident that the imperialist clique which supports Willkie wants him *to continue to lead the "crusade."* While this may not be fully agreeable to certain standpat elements in the Republican Party leadership, Big Business will try to have its way. This means that Willkie and his collaborators will seek to extend and make permanent those auxiliary election campaign organizations which have proved most effective in corralling for the Republican Party the mass votes of the farmers, petty bourgeoisie of the cities, middle class youth, women and certain elements among the workers. For what purposes?

The most immediate and practical purpose is to provide organized mass pressure upon the Government to keep its course straight as desired by Big Business. Wall Street has learned its lesson from the dismal failure of the Liberty League in the 1936 elections. *It wants a mass base; and directly under the control of Big Business*; and it wants to use this mass base to keep in check its own two parties and its own government. In the face of the growing crisis of capitalism and the inevitable awakening of the masses to independent policies and actions, Big Business is seeking to build up extra controls and checks. And the immediate practical purpose of these extra controls that Willkie is building primarily among the masses of the petty bourgeoisie, as well as his secondary efforts to invade the labor movement, *is to make sure that the cost of "national" defense is placed and kept fully on the shoulders of the people and that everything will be done to keep down the anti-imperialist movements of the masses.* In short, Big Business no longer feels safe in its power with the two-party system *alone*; it looks for *additional* political instruments, and precisely among the masses.

Which brings us to the second purpose of the permanent organiza-

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tions which Willkie is trying to build. Speaking particularly of the Big Business crowd that supports Willkie, it must be noted that among them there is little confidence in the ability of the reformist leaders to keep labor "in check" in a crisis period like the present one. They are trying, of course, to invade the labor movement also. They have had their Hutchesons and Matthew Wolls for a long time. And now they would be very happy to get into their camp more prominent and influential labor leaders, to achieve which end they will go a long way, but not without fear and misgiving. It follows, therefore, that the Willkie imperialist crowd will devote its major efforts to secure a mass base for itself among the petty bourgeoisie of city and farm, concentrating on the youth, without neglecting the workers, especially the unorganized and those in smaller towns. The longer range purpose of these activities is undoubtedly *to provide an alternative to reformism; as, if and when the latter proves no longer capable of keeping labor effectively in check for the imperialist bourgeoisie.*

In other words, this petty-bourgeois base (reinforced with labor) is expected by the Willkie crowd to supplement reformism at all times and to supplant it as the need arises.

Lastly, but equally important in the aims of the Willkie mass base, is to divert all mass opposition to the imperialist course of the Roosevelt Administration into the channels of such mass agencies (distinct from the Republican Party) as will be dominated directly by Big Business. And herein lies the meaning of "the Willkie opposition." Herein also lies its immediate practical danger to the independent anti-imperialist mass movements. It is clear from all the foregoing considerations that the "Willkie opposition" constitutes a serious threat to the further progress of the anti-imperialist people's front movement. It is a threat to the main line of struggle of progressive labor, which is to free the masses from the "Roosevelt leadership" and to establish labor's independence and leadership of the people.

This latter point may not yet be fully clear to certain labor elements, but it is a most vital and crucial point. It can be shown by these main considerations. The masses of the people can be broken away from the Roosevelt leadership, and they will be, *only* by the American working class fighting independently as a class and leading the rest of the people in an alliance against the imperialist camp as a whole, systematically eliminating all reformist influences in the labor movement. This is a fundamental truth. And why is this so? Because to break the masses away from the Roosevelt leadership means to break them away *from bourgeois and reformist influences.* It means to break them away from class collaboration, from political subjection to the bourgeoisie. Behind Roosevelt, the individual, we must help the masses see the imperialist bourgeoisie and its class influence. Behind Hillman, the individual, we must help the masses see reformism as the agency

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of this bourgeoisie in the labor movement. Without this the job cannot be accomplished. Without this the developing disillusionment with Roosevelt may serve the interests of the "Willkie opposition," the interests of Big Business, and not the interests of labor and its allies.

Let us put the question plainly. Isn't Roosevelt serving the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie every day and therefore also of Big Business in the final analysis? He is. Isn't he systematically compromising and betraying the interests of the masses in favor of the same Big Business against which he pretends to lead and defend the people? Isn't he therefore serving fundamentally the interests of the same Big Business crowd which finds in Willkie its direct representative? He is. Isn't this therefore the main reason why progressive labor correctly makes its main fight to liberate the masses from the Roosevelt leadership? It is. Then how can this job be done by directing labor's dissatisfaction with Roosevelt into the channels of the "Willkie opposition"? The answer is: *it cannot.*

First, because labor is already too mature politically to take Willkie as an "opposition" to Roosevelt, which proves that labor cannot be freed from Roosevelt if it is done from the positions of Willkie; even though labor has proved not yet sufficiently mature and prepared to take the field in the elections independently as a class, for which reformism bears main responsibility. Secondly, even if it were possible to direct labor's opposition to Roosevelt into the Willkie channels (and under certain circumstances, this may become possible among various groups), this would "free" certain masses from Roosevelt but not from the bourgeoisie, which is not freedom at all, but continued political subjection to imperialism. This would be, in substance, playing the game of the capitalist two-party system and not struggling to break through it to independent political action by the workers in alliance with all common people. And this was precisely the error in John L. Lewis' pre-election advice to labor to express its justified opposition to Roosevelt by voting for Willkie. Life itself has already demonstrated that the masses cannot be freed from Roosevelt by directing them to Willkie; that it can be done and will be done by uniting and organizing the masses, headed by labor, into an independent political power of their own, *into an anti-imperialist people's party of peace.*

The bourgeoisie will continue to try to prevent the crystallization of such a party by all means. It will do so through both Roosevelt and Willkie, operating in the labor movement with the help of the reformist leaders. Roosevelt will continue to parade as the "liberal," the "democrat" and champion of the masses against the monopolists, using the Hillman reformist clique to hold labor to this line, while seeking to build other agencies (La-Guardia-Norris group, etc.) among the middle classes. At the same time, Willkie will be functioning as the "loyal opposition," with the aim (among others) of diverting into the

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channels of imperialism the growing disillusionment with Roosevelt and with the imperialist bourgeoisie, building mass auxiliaries to the Republican Party among the middle classes and making use also of reformist labor leaders. This is the outlook.

It follows, therefore, that the struggle for the anti-imperialist people's front under labor's leadership requires on the part of progressive labor *a consistent proletarian class policy*. This means consistent proletarian opposition to the bourgeoisie as a class and to the entire camp of imperialism. Opposition to Roosevelt without such a consistent proletarian class policy operates in the interests of Willkie, and opposition to Willkie without this kind of a proletarian policy works in the interests of Roosevelt. The elections have proved this point conclusively. Hutcheson & Co. have opposed Roosevelt; all right, but from reformist positions. Hillman & Co. have opposed Willkie and from the same reformist positions. And for whom did they really work? For the imperialist bourgeoisie and against the working class, even though one group supported Willkie and the other, Roosevelt.

Only from the class positions of labor, from the principle of labor's leadership of the people in an anti-imperialist peace front, can the major fight be carried on successfully to free the masses from the "Roosevelt leadership." Only from the class positions of labor can the anti-imperialist camp make good use of the contradictions and rivalries in the imperialist camp, otherwise such efforts threaten to make labor a plaything in the hands of its class enemies. And to fight effectively from labor's class positions means to fight consistently against reformism, against the leaders of Social-Democratism, especially against the Hillman group of betrayers of labor.

This is the message of the November meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, the message in Comrade Browder's report to that meeting on some of the more important lessons from the recent national elections.

* * *

THE contribution of the Communist Party and of its standard bearers, Browder and Ford, to the recent elections is of outstanding significance and importance. It was this contribution that has raised the struggle for working class political independence to a high level of development, bringing it to a point where a number of important mass labor organizations took the attitude of opposition to both imperialist parties and in favor of an anti-imperialist people's party headed by labor. It was this contribution of the Communist Party, challenging the Roosevelt "leadership" among the masses from the class positions of the proletariat—from the positions of its major struggle for peace, security and civil liberties—that has influenced the general course of the election campaign, that has played an important part in forcing both imperialist candidates to enter into a discussion on the question of peace, and reluctantly to make "promises" for the maintenance of peace. It was

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this contribution of the Communist Party that has helped to prepare wide masses for the inevitable violation of these promises by the imperialists and their government, and for the utilization of these violations to accelerate the processes of mass disillusionment with imperialist rule and to strengthen the independent struggles of the masses against the imperialist reactionary offensive of the bourgeoisie.

It can be seen plainly that through this campaign the Communist Party has not only maintained its ties with the masses but has extended and strengthened them. And in this sense, the efforts of the imperialist bourgeoisie to isolate the Communist Party have failed. The Party is now in a better position than before to help promote the struggle of the masses against the reactionaries and war-makers.

Despite the veritable terror let loose by the Government against the Communist Party and its election campaign, the mass activities of its organizations and membership have reached a high mark in scope and intensity. Outstanding in this respect are the hundreds of thousands of people that have been won by the Party to give their signatures to its nominating petitions, the exceptional amount of literature spread among the masses, the true mass campaign of visiting voters in their homes and discussing election issues with them, the variety of meetings, symposiums, broadcastings and other means for reaching the masses with the Communist message. While Comrade Ford, our Vice Presidential candidate, was campaigning effectively throughout the country, and Comrade Foster was able to address large numbers of people in various cities, the handicap imposed upon Comrade Browder by the authorities (the court's ruling prohibiting his leaving New York) was also overcome in large measure. By means of electrical transcriptions Comrade Browder's brilliant and effective speeches were heard and applauded by wide masses of the people throughout the country. Our candidate for President was in the campaign—that is a fact—and leading the progressive forces in its battles *despite all efforts of the war-makers to the contrary.*

But the bourgeoisie did succeed in preventing the Communist candidates from appearing on the ballot in nearly half the states, including some of the most important ones. Thus the substantial mass anti-war vote which could have been registered on the national ticket of the Communist Party, and which the imperialists were so anxious to prevent, was not registered to any degree of approximation. Yet, even here, significant developments can be noted. Wherever the people found Communists on the ballot, *the vote for the Communist Party increased.* This means growing political influence for the Communist Party among the masses, particularly so since the weight and value of these votes, cast under conditions of extreme intimidation and persecution, is comparatively higher than in any previous election.

Highly important and symptomatic is the fact that, wherever the masses thought there was a real

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choice of local and Congressional candidates, rightly or wrongly, they voted in instance after instance for the candidate that appeared to them more dependable for peace, security and civil liberties. And in the few instances where progressive labor was campaigning for anti-war candidates of its own, notably in the case of Congressman Marcantonio, important successes have been registered in the elections. Undoubtedly the situation was ripe for much greater achievements along these lines, and this is another important lesson to be learned from the elections. It confirms the correctness of the Communist Party's people's front line and the effectiveness of its campaigns. And it is to be expected that progressive labor will henceforth pay much greater attention to the possibilities inherent in local and Congressional elections.

And what can be said of the Norman Thomas campaign for the Socialist Party? Here too lie important lessons, especially for those workers who still follow reformist leadership. It is, of course, correct to call the Norman Thomas campaign a debacle, and that will be true absolutely. But it is not the first debacle; it is the most recent of a series. And what is its particular meaning? It is that the Norman Thomas reformist "message" today works *directly* for the "democratic" bourgeoisie instead of indirectly as is the case with Social-Democratism in other capitalist countries. In these other countries, the masses following reformist leaders vote for them in elections, even putting them in the Government, thus giving the lieutenants of the bourgeoisie a mass base from which to work for capitalism. And this is a somewhat indirect way of political subjection to the bourgeoisie. In the case of Norman Thomas it works more directly. Many of those who follow his reformist leadership, having been persuaded by the Socialist Party election "message," drew the practical conclusion that the logical thing to do is to vote for Roosevelt. And they probably reasoned like this: Since the "socialization" business is an obvious fake; and since Roosevelt has "stolen" from the Socialist Party all of its immediate demands (so says Thomas himself); and since Roosevelt has a better chance of being elected than Thomas and so do something about these immediate demands that were "stolen" from the Socialist Party; and since, finally, Communism and the Soviet Union are sheer "totalitarianism" which must be combated to the death—then, what is the conclusion? If all this is true, then the best way of serving Thomas is to vote for Roosevelt. And this they did. There is also no doubt that numbers of Socialist Party followers made a different conclusion from Thomas' reformist twaddle, namely, to break with reformism and to support the Communist Party.

The lesson to emphasize is that reformism always serves the bourgeoisie, no matter what the particular reformist tactic may be. In one case, reformism serves capitalism and the bourgeoisie indirectly,

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in other cases the same result is achieved more directly, but it is always the servant of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement.

One should also examine closely some of Thomas' post-election apologies and excuses for the debacle of the Socialist Party's election campaign. He is talking about the difficulties of "minority parties." He is blaming the masses for the war "hysteria" and reactionary trends. He is subtly insinuating a poison of defeatism and pessimism. He is, in fact, continuing his election campaign in the service of the bourgeoisie.

Now, then, if it is a matter of difficulties for minority parties, surely the Communists should know plenty about them. It was the Communist Party, not the Socialist Party, that was singled out by the imperialists for special persecution and punishment. Hence the Communists are not likely to underestimate the difficulties of the minority parties. Yet, they — the Communists—have succeeded, despite all difficulties, in widening and strengthening their ties with the masses and with the labor movement; they succeeded in influencing substantial sections of labor to take an independent political position in the elections; they contributed their share to forcing the imperialist candidates to discuss the peace question and to make commitments to the masses, which progressive labor can now use to advance the people's cause against the imperialist bourgeoisie by exposing the treachery and double-dealing of its spokesmen; they have laid the basis for a more rapid advance of labor and its allies to independence and influence in the coming period; they have strengthened their own party.

So it is not a question of minority parties but of *what kind* of a minority party. A reformist party, whose line of policy in the elections operates directly in the services of the "democratic" bourgeoisie and against the class interests of the proletariat, such a party will achieve one set of results; the results achieved by Norman Thomas' campaign. On the other hand, a Marxist-Leninist party, whose line of policy in the elections (and all the time) operates in the interests of the working class and against the imperialist bourgeoisie, will achieve a different set of results, results achieved by the campaign of Browder and Ford.

As to the masses, the war hysteria and the reactionary trends do not stem from them but from their class enemies and their reformist agents. Never perhaps in the history of American elections has reformism and its leading representatives (Hillman, Green, Tobin, Hutcheson, and Norman Thomas) been so decisively responsible for holding the masses tied down to the capitalist parties as in the last elections.

Beware, therefore, of the defeatist and pessimistic strains of Thomas' post-election songs. These are political weapons to obscure his reformist line and to justify it. Objectively, they may also be preparations for *more open* abandonment of even lip-service to socialism and the people.

Contrasting the role and achieve-

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ments of the Communist Party to the role and "achievements" of the Socialist Party, the Communists and their supporters will derive a more profound understanding of the power and effectiveness of the Communist Party line, of its organizations and of its leadership, Browder and Foster. The Communists and their supporters will thus gain a greater confidence in their ability—even though still a minority party—to serve the American working class and the American people most effectively. It will help them to counter and overcome the new difficulties which the bourgeoisie and its government will be placing in the way of our Party and of the further progress of American labor.

And we shall always try to learn from Comrade Stalin, and transmit our knowledge to the masses despite all obstacles, how to lead and organize the masses to fight *and to win*.

* * *

THE emergency national convention of the Communist Party dealt with precisely one of those newer obstacles placed by the bourgeoisie in the path of the labor movement. It dealt with the so-called "foreign agents registration act," the Voorhis Act, and arrived at a practical decision which should help the labor movement to carry forward the struggle for working class internationalism, enabling the Communist Party to fulfil its duties to the masses despite all obstacles.

What was the purpose of this Act? Comrade Browder explained fully at the public hearing of the Senate Committee. In brief, it is the following: It is an attempt by the imperialist bourgeoisie *to isolate* the American working class, its organizations and all progressive movements from similar organizations and movements in other countries. It is an effort to prevent the American people from maintaining and developing international contacts and cooperation for peace and progress. It is thus a weapon of the imperialist war-makers against the anti-imperialist peace movements of this country as well as against the labor movement and all progressive organizations. It is beyond doubt one of the most reactionary laws recently placed on the statute books, but it is also one of the most futile from the point of view of actually stopping the progress of working class internationalism and the cooperation of the American people for world peace.

Life itself is forcing the American working class to a more conscious and consistent proletarian internationalism and to cooperation with the advanced proletarian movements in all countries. Life itself, and the growing daily struggle of the American masses for peace and against the war-makers, demands the development of a true *international* people's peace policy; it demands the collaboration of the American people with similar anti-imperialist peace movements abroad. How, then, can a police measure like the Voorhis Act stop such profound historic developments, developments upon whose success depends the future of the American people? The answer is:

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It cannot and it will not, although it creates new difficulties and obstacles for the labor and peace movements.

Looking at the matter for the moment, and for the sake of argument, from the point of view of the *professed* aims of the authors of this Act, that is, protection of the United States from foreign agents, aren't there enough acts already on the statute books to take care of that? Of course, there are; and more than enough. We can thus easily dismiss all pretensions that the Voorhis Act is directed against "foreign agents." Its sole aim and purpose is to hamstring *American* organizations of a *progressive* character which maintain *international* contacts and cooperation of a *similar* nature. And this is precisely what the imperialists and war-makers are afraid of, because it goes contrary to their predatory plans of imperialist aggrandizement and war abroad and internal reaction at home.

We are inevitably reminded of the lessons of France. There too the imperialist governments of Daladier, Reynaud, etc., were waging war upon the anti-imperialist movements of the people and upon the Communist Party in the name of "national" defense and under the excuse of combating "foreign" influences and "foreign" agents. Moreover, these same governments (and with the same excuses) were also trying to destroy the Communist Party by forcing it to abandon support for the peace policies of the Soviet Union and to abandon loyalty to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. But what was the result? Almost everybody knows that by now. The peace movements of the people were not destroyed. The Communist Party and its great mass following remained as loyal as ever to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the leadership of the great Stalin, fighting with all their might for the international proletarian peace policies of the Soviet Union. And had they proved strong enough, France would have been saved from disaster.

However, the French imperialist bourgeoisie and its governments were not altogether unsuccessful. They failed to stamp out working class internationalism and they failed to force the Communist Party and its following to abandon Marxism-Leninism, *but they succeeded in betraying and destroying France.* And they did it in the name of "national" defense, in the name of combating "foreign" agents.

Isn't there a lesson here for the United States?

Labor, the peace movements and all progressive organizations must wake up to the true significance of the policy embodied in the Voorhis Act. It is a policy which, if allowed to develop, leads to national disaster. It is a policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie in this epoch of decaying capitalism which, first, produces war and, as military developments turn unfavorable, leads to national betrayal and collapse. It is a policy designed to strangle all people's movements for peace, progress and anti-imperialist national defense.

It follows, therefore, that a nationwide mass struggle has to be

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developed *for the repeal of the Voorhis Act.* This is in the vital interests, and therefore the task, of labor, the peace movements and of all progressive organizations. It is the struggle for working class internationalism, for the right to maintain contact and collaborate with labor and peace organizations abroad, for an international people's peace policy which alone can help the American people win their fight against the war-makers and imperialists of the United States.

The Communist Party, through its emergency national convention, has made the necessary adjustments to enable it to fulfil among the masses the tasks and duties of a Marxist-Leninist party in the situation created by the Voorhis Act; the tasks of the advanced detachment of the American working class; the tasks of a party loyal to the end to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and working class internationalism, inspired as never before by the example of the great leadership of Comrade Stalin, determined to help the American masses to reach the positions of a true international peace policy such as advocated and practiced by the socialist Soviet Union.

Together with our brother Communist parties in all countries, and learning systematically from the experiences of the model party of the Communist International—the glorious party of the Soviet Union—we shall move forward despite all obstacles, contributing an ever larger share to the progress and happiness of the American working class and the American nation.

A. B.

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THE 1940 ELECTIONS AND THE NEXT TASKS

BY EARL BROWDER

(Report to the meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., held in conjunction with the Special Convention in New York on November 16-17, 1940.)

ON NOVEMBER 6, the cry went up from leading circles of both the Republican and Democratic parties that now, since the elections are over, all campaign documents and speeches should be immediately and publicly burned, with appropriate ceremonials, and should be forgotten as quickly as possible. Norman Thomas even rushed the gun, and sent this message over the air before midnight of November 5, immediately following Boss Flynn's announcement of victory for the third term.

This common thought of all the "great minds" arises from their common recognition that, despite all the best laid plans, the election campaign did get out of hand, it took a course in its last days quite displeasing to them all, and they all found themselves saying things they want forgotten immediately and completely. Elemental forces had broken through the most complete blockade, finding powerful, if distorted, expression. And the gentlemen at the top are uneasy about it, they are disturbed, they want it wiped from the popular mind.

What a revealing commentary this is upon the true character of our boasted democracy! Almost before the election is over, its leading participants and their servants hasten to tell the masses that the decisive period of the political debate, the ten days before the voting, consisted of lies, slanders, appeals to prejudice, unsound arguments, of which we must all be ashamed and forget as quickly as possible!

The Communist Party has no need to wash itself after the election in this manner. We have nothing in our campaign of which we are ashamed, nothing we wish forgotten, no speeches or documents which we are not ready to defend after the election with equal or greater conviction. Instead of burning our campaign speeches, we sent to press the day after election a permanent pamphlet of the Presidential campaign addresses, copies

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of which are in your hands, which we believe you will unanimously endorse.

One outstanding feature of the election campaign in its last phase was described by Karl Marx over ninety years ago, in words which for concise and appropriate description of America in 1940 cannot be improved upon. In the introduction to *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx said:

"Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as communistic by its opponents in power? Where the Opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of communism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?"

Wendell Willkie was doubtless unconscious of the fact that he was following the Marxian law to the letter when he accused Roosevelt of communistic tendencies. Roosevelt was equally unconscious of how he was proving the genius of Marx when he accused Willkie of seeking an alliance with the Communists. Their ignorance of fundamental political laws, however, only emphasizes the profound correctness of Marx's conclusion from similar phenomena almost a century ago, namely, that *"Communism is already acknowledged by all . . . to be itself a power."* True in 1848, and a thousand times true in 1940!

How the Masses Intervened in This Election

Even before the major party conventions, it was already clear and registered by us that, whatever the election outcome, the chief executive office would be occupied by the War Party coalition, by a representative of Wall Street. After the nominations this fact was publicly confirmed when Willkie at Elwood quoted the exact words of Roosevelt as their common war platform, and repeated his promises on domestic policy. In the first phase of the campaign, up to October 2, this agreement was rigidly adhered to. Under its cover was put over the two great decisive steps toward militarization and war, the conscription law and the alliance with the British Empire. But already the pact between the war coalition was strained, because the election campaign was on, and the masses were pressing upon both parties and their leaders their profound abhorrence of the war.

The first decisive break in the war coalition of the bourgeoisie—they call it "national unity"—came on the conscription issue, when in Congress two-thirds of Republican representatives and one-third of the whole House, including Democrats, voted against the draft bill, defying their official leaders and the enormous pressure from above, in concession to the rising pressure of the masses from below. The trade of fifty destroyers for naval bases with Britain and the Joint Defense Council with belligerent Canada were not even submitted to Congress as accomplished facts, but were carried through as edicts of a military dictatorship. This was unquestionably due to fear of crystallization of a strong opposition in the country, and not to the inherent dicta-

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torial tendencies of Roosevelt, for it weakened rather than strengthened his immediate position, whatever its significance as a precedent for the future, since it registered a fear of the people and even of Congress. The masses had begun to register their profound opposition to the war, despite and over the head of the rigged-up election combination.

From this moment the course of the election campaign changed its character. What had been planned by the coalition as a great drive to whip up war hysteria among the masses, leading to a war mandate on November 5, broke down and took another course. Willkie awoke to the fact that his candidacy was fading into nothingness. In his Cleveland speech he suddenly switched tactics (without in any way modifying his programmatic commitments) and made a definite appeal for the anti-war vote, accusing Roosevelt of planning to take the country into the war, which he pledged his election would prevent. The rise in his political prospects was sudden and dramatic, although that speech cost him the support of some of his original backers, and Dorothy Thompson—an army in her own right—deserted him for the President. So menacing became the peace issue to the third-term prospect that Roosevelt was finally forced to revise his plans and enter the campaign speaking lists. Instead of being able to whip up the war spirit further, Roosevelt was forced to engage in competition with Willkie in promises of peace.

Thus, instead of the election result being, as planned, a mandate for the war policy, it was turned into its opposite, a registration of the fact that no candidate could win the country on a war platform so long as there was even the most shallow and demagogic appeal to the masses for peace by the other chief candidate. That the promises of both candidates were sheer demagogy, there is hardly need for me to emphasize here. The peace promises were concessions to mass sentiment, wrung from two unwilling candidates. They were maneuvers to deceive and cheat the masses—but they have a value, if the masses, especially the workers, strengthen their independent organizations with the determination to enforce these promises in a serious struggle against the war-makers. The turn of the campaign, in which the masses compelled the recognition of their desire for peace, as shown in the change from demagogy for war to demagogy about peace, was a great victory for the workers, for the people. It was the outstanding feature, the surprise, of a campaign which in its beginning appeared on the surface to be cut-and-dried.

The Disintegration of Old Party Ties

Superficial and tendencious commentators are already busy interpreting the distribution of votes on November 5 as an unprecedented strengthening of the hold of the Democratic and Republican parties upon the masses. The true significance of this election is quite to the contrary.

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The superficial argument runs, that with the biggest poll in American history, close to fifty millions, the vote cast for all the minor parties taken as a whole was the smallest in modern times. A larger percentage of votes went for the two major parties than has occurred at any time in the twentieth century —this in the face of the closest programmatic agreement between the major parties that has ever appeared during this time.

It would be the greatest mistake to accept this surface appearance at its face value. Allegiance to the two old parties among the masses has never been so weak as it is now. It is notorious that the Democratic Party has long been held together only by the mass prestige of the New Deal Roosevelt who was opposed by the majority of his own party leaders. Roosevelt's abandonment of the New Deal for an armaments, militarization and war policy has so profoundly alienated the masses who followed him with enthusiasm in 1936 that in 1940 they voted for him with obvious reluctance, with suspicion, and only because Willkie was committed to identical policies and was obviously dishonest in his last-minute peace demagogy. There is not the slightest doubt that a Republican candidate who would have opposed conscription, the hysterical military appropriations and the deal with Britain—even such an old-fashioned conservative as Taft—would have won handily in most states outside the Solid South. The hold of the Democratic Party, and of Roosevelt, upon the masses has been seriously shaken and undermined, far beyond the measure of the drop from 62 per cent of the vote in 1936 to 55 per cent in 1940.

As for the Republican Party, its morale, which reflects its ties with the masses, was so low that its convention in Philadelphia could be stampeded into abandoning all its known and traditional leaders in favor of an unknown, a Democrat in all his previous political activity, and who was chosen precisely because he was politically a blank sheet of paper upon which each voter could be invited to write his own prescription and vote for it. Surely, that is no evidence of a hold upon the masses. Even Willkie's increase of votes over Landon was won only in the last weeks, after he departed from his coalition program to engage in desperate demagogy.

A further evidence of the weakening of the ties of both parties with the masses is the unprecedented shifting from one side to the other. The appearance of this phenomenon among well-known public figures only reflected a much more significant shifting among the masses of the voters. More than in any modern campaign, the theory of the "lesser evil" came forward as a major manifestation. The votes were more "against" than "for."

The Socialist Party vote for Norman Thomas is not yet known fully or exactly. But from fragmentary returns, it is already clear that it shows a rather complete collapse and bankruptcy. In New York City it ran below the exceedingly difficult "write-in" vote for the

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Communist Party. The ambiguous banal, weasel-worded toadying campaign of Norman Thomas met its natural and inevitable response among the voters, even those who for years had followed him and his party banner faithfully. It had finally become more than they could stomach.

The Communist Party, denied a place on the ballot in more than half the states, including centers of our greatest strength such as New York, Ohio, and Illinois, had not even the physical possibility of measuring its mass influence by the vote cast for its candidates. Considering the unprecedented campaign, official and unofficial, of intimidation and suppression carried on against our Party, it can only be judged as a many-times multiplied mass influence as compared with 1936, to have reached or even surpassed that vote in 1940.

It has always been difficult to get Communist votes cast, and even more difficult to get them counted. In order to get some measure of how much mass influence our Party must have in order to register a hundred thousand votes in the Presidential election, let us resort to a bit of imaginative comparison. Let us suppose, for example, that Mr. Willkie and his party, even with all their financial and propertied backing, had nevertheless been forced to enter this campaign with a law on Federal statute books denying public employment or relief to any Republican; with the courts revoking naturalization papers of any citizen shown to have been a Republican when naturalized; with a Congressional Committee holding public inquisitions to ferret out hidden Republicans to drive them out of public or private employment, and to instigate any and every possible legal proceedings against them; with their party forced to gather signatures to petitions to get on the ballot, with public blacklisting in the newspapers of such signers; with their election workers imprisoned by the hundreds and assaulted by the thousands; with a Republican candidate for governor in one state sentenced to prison for fifteen years for the obvious fraud of obtaining signatures to its petitions on the ground that the Republican Party is "the Party of Lincoln"; with the party finally thrown off the ballot in most of the states; with no prospects of gain for anyone but only of sacrifice; with a thousand and one other large and petty persecutions. With all this, one can only speculate how many votes Mr. Wendell Willkie or Mr. Roosevelt will be able to register, if and when they are brought by fate to face similar conditions. For such conditions are a real test of how deep a party's roots have penetrated among the masses.

The Re-emergence of the Labor Party Movement

A major and most important feature of the election campaign was registered during its last ten days in the sudden and emphatic re-emergence of the Labor Party movement. This occurred in the very heat of the final campaign drive, when the Labor Party could not even dream of finding organiza-

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tional expression, when the masses were already making up their minds which of the two evils should be chosen as the lesser one. Following the historic radio broadcast of John L. Lewis on October 25, which placed this dilemma in its sharpest form, a large part of the most representative progressive trade unions and people's organizations, with their leaders, responded with an unequivocal declaration of lack of confidence in both major candidates, with the demand for labor's political independence in the form of a Labor Party, together with unswerving adherence to the firmly-established progressive policies of the C.I.O., as led by John L. Lewis.

There is no need here to repeat the timely and correct evaluation of this event which our Party made at the time. What we need to record and emphasize now is the tremendous historical significance of this upsurge of the demand for labor's complete political independence, at the very climax of a hotly-contested election, from which labor had been excluded except as voting-cattle. The great significance of this event is in nowise diminished by the fact that, as individuals, the members and leaders of these organizations in most cases chose a "lesser evil" on November 5, and divided their ballots between Roosevelt and Willkie; neither is it diminished by any momentary confusions that may have appeared in progressive ranks during those days. On the whole, it must be said that the progressive circles, rank and file and leaders, displayed a brilliant capacity to seize the moment for a smashing blow against the camp of the warmongers, together with their agents in the labor movement, and for upholding the arms of all fighters for peace and progress.

A tremendous latent "third party" or Labor Party movement was present in the 1940 campaign, hidden by the surface of events, but revealing itself, beyond any doubt, to close observation and analysis. It could not come forward for lack of timely and bold leadership. But this is a lack which can be remedied, as was shown so forcibly by the reemergence of the demand for a Labor Party in the last days of the campaign.

This great Labor Party manifestation was another sign of the disintegration of the old bourgeois parties, of their loosening hold upon the masses, of the imminent emergence of a new party on the American political scene, through which labor will achieve its independence and rally to its side the farmers and all toiling masses, in a great mass struggle for political power.

How the Communist Party Worked in the Campaign

We have already given a general and rough estimate of the Communist vote and its significance, as showing multiplied influence and deepening roots among the masses. It is now necessary to examine how our Party worked in this campaign to bring about such a result.

First of all, we multiplied our strength because under the most extreme difficulties we never allowed ourselves to be cut off from that source of all strength, the

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masses of workers, of the people. We never allowed ourselves to drift or be driven into sectarianism. We went to the masses, we had faith in the masses, we drew strength from the masses, we gave leadership to the masses. This campaign was for us, from first to last, a mass campaign.

We have already described that great victory of the masses, their intervention in the election campaign, how they frustrated the original plans of the two-party coalition to make it a war campaign, how they forced the change from a demagogy for war to a demagogy about peace. That mass intervention was a spontaneous, unorganized movement on the whole. But its success was determined by the presence within it of elements of organization and leadership. Without some elements of clarity, organization and leadership no success is possible, and the degree of success of a mass movement is always commensurate with the degree to which these factors are present.

These important and vital factors of clarity, organization and leadership were furnished, in the first place, by the Communist Party. Alone among all nationally-organized political forces, the Communist Party foresaw the possibility of this intervention of the masses, and worked consciously, systematically and energetically to bring it into motion and direct it to success. *Not* the Communist Party *alone*, of course, but the Party attracting and guiding and working through the broadest circles of militant progressives, did this work. But the Communist Party *alone* was a nationally-organized directing center conscious of its goal. Thereby we won thousands of devoted adherents and new friends.

So, also, in the loosening of the ties between the old parties and the masses, the process comes spontaneously out of the relations of class forces and their struggles, but it is given consciousness, direction and effectiveness by the work of our Party, in the first instance. When the party in power decries its opposition as "communistic," when the opposition hurls back that reproach, not only against the more advanced opposition parties but also against its chief adversary, as we witnessed so sharply in this campaign in the United States, we have learned from Marx to recognize this as the consequence of the emergence of Communism as a power, acknowledged as such by all. Our Communist Party by its work forced the two major parties, which held 99 per cent of the vote, nevertheless to recognize and combat Communism as their most significant and dangerous opposition, and to recriminate each other as to supposed Communistic tendencies within themselves.

So, also, in the upsurge of the Labor Party movement, the bourgeoisie and its ideologists can see nothing but the manifestation of Communism. Of course the Communist Party supported this movement, and furnished its most conscious element. But it is a broad mass movement, going far beyond our Party ranks. When the capitalist press brands this movement and

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its leaders as "Communist," it is only repeating the same formula under which Willkie and Roosevelt hurled this epithet at one another.

The Communist Party gave support to every clearly progressive and peace candidate even if he ran on the Democratic or Republican ticket. All the more so did we support that wing of the American Labor Party in New York which revolted against the old warmongering, reactionary, and Social-Democratic state leadership. Here again, of course, the war camp instantly and unanimously brands any and every opposition to its course as "Communist" beyond the slightest shadow of doubt! The grain of truth behind this lie is that the Communists support everything seriously progressive, and that without the existence of the Communist Party all progressives would find this world a darker and more difficult place.

The Rose - Antonini - Dubinsky-Hillman warmongering leadership within the American Labor Party are boasting of their great election victories. "They" carried the state for Roosevelt. Let them take responsibility, therefore, for what Roosevelt gives to labor, beginning with the $122,000,000 war contract to Henry Ford in the days immediately following election. But it was the progressive wing of the American Labor Party, against the most bitter and energetic opposition of the pro-war leaders, which gave the A.L.P. its only independent electoral victories, outstandingly the sweeping victory of Vito Marcantonio, the fighting Congressman from Harlem. Marcantonio was plastered on every billboard and in every newspaper as a "Communist," because of his brilliant fight against militarization and his generally progressive record, but his constituents, by no means Communists, and largely Catholics, returned him to Congress over his Tammany opponent by a majority of almost two to one. That was a great tribute to Marcantonio; it was also a demonstration that the masses do not agree that it is so terrible to come under the accusation of being a Communist.

Out of the whole campaign, and out of the work of the Communist Party in it, it is clear that we have emerged far stronger than we have been before. And I repeat, this is above all because we took our correct understanding and policy to the masses, and always to the masses.

The High Importance of the Fight For the Ballot

The Communist Party's election campaign was, from beginning to end, a prolonged and bitter fight to establish our place on the ballot in the various states. Our Party's members and supporters conducted the struggle with heroism and devotion, enlisting several hundred thousand persons directly in one or another form in this fundamental battle to resist the deterioration and destruction of the democratic achievements of the American people. Our casualties ranged all the way from thousands blacklisted from their jobs, hundreds beaten

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up, mutilated and jailed, scores sentenced to prison terms on frame-up charges, and one, Oscar Wheeler, candidate for governor in West Virginia, sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment for soliciting signatures on the ground that his arguments for support to the Communist candidates were "fraudulent." But throughout the fight, our Party did not weaken or capitulate for a single moment; it carried the battle through right up to the end.

It is not my purpose to review all the rich detail of this struggle at this time, valuable as such an examination would be, nor to search out the many shortcomings and weaknesses which inevitably accompanied this so generally admirable and well-conducted campaign. Others will contribute to this task of review and analysis. At this point what is most necessary is to fix the main historical significance and political lessons of the battle for the ballot.

Two points stand out in any such political estimate: First, the Communist Party's fight for its ballot rights was the front line of struggle for all the immediate demands of the working class and the majority of the people. Every nation that has lost its liberties and been thrown into catastrophe in these last years started on the downward path by the suppression of the Communist Party. By fighting for the legality and full election rights of the Communist Party, we were fighting for no narrow party interest, but for peace, for democratic rights and civil liberties, for protection of the standards of life for the whole working class and the nation.

Second, this fight for the ballot was a fundamental step in the political education of the American masses, necessary for their understanding of the class nature of bourgeois democracy, of the dictatorship of monopoly capital that is exercised through democratic forms, of the inevitable course taken by monopoly capital toward the destruction of these democratic forms whenever they begin to limit and hamper the supremacy of Wall Street's rule. It was necessary to demonstrate to the masses, through their own experience, that it is a lie that the Communists are the enemies of democracy, that in truth it is always the most vicious anti-Communists who first and most destructively tear down and destroy even the limited democratic rights previously enjoyed by the masses. The fight for the ballot was a primer of political education, a concrete American version, in terms of experience, of Lenin's immortal book, *State and Revolution.*

Perspectives and Tasks

This report is not intended as a complete and rounded-out review of the elections, their issues, the experiences, and all the detailed lessons. Much of what is to be said has already been dealt with in editorials and articles in the *Daily Worker,* with more to follow, and these things are repeated and developed in this report only in so far as necessary to fix the main, the outstanding, the decisive characteristics.

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A few words are required as to the perspectives. While no one can predict the exact form in which the imperialist war will develop, and in which America will be fully involved, yet one thing is clear: The ruling classes of the United States are riding ruthlessly into the middle of the bloody imperialist war for the redivision of the world; fear of revolutionary upheaval in Europe, and the determination to hold it down by all means, remains the most powerful general motive driving American ruling circles toward entrance into the war as a belligerent. This is already tied up most closely with the Far East which, through the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), may well be the door for United States entrance into the second World War. Capitalism must be preserved at all costs abroad if Wall Street is to feel safe in America; that is the meaning behind all the hypocritical battle cries under which American youth is being mobilized as cannon-fodder.

For the working class and toiling masses, therefore, the future is one of intensifying struggle to keep out of the war, and to bring the war to an end; of ever broader and more serious battles to defeat and throw back the attacks of monopoly capital against wages and living standards, against social legislation, against civil liberties and democratic rights for the masses. This struggle will inevitably force a general recognition among the working class and the toiling masses that the two old parties represent their enemy, Wall Street, monopoly capital, the economic royalists; that it is necessary to break completely with these parties, and achieve political independence, through a Labor Party or Farmer-Labor Party.

The trade unions are again coming forth as the most important and decisive factor in this struggle, in all its phases. Now more than ever before the trade unions must be extended and consolidated; must perfect their own inner democracy, so that the will of the broad rank and file will be truly reflected in a progressive, clear-headed and militant leadership; must rally around themselves the farmers, the Negroes, the youth, all the democratic organizations and masses of the country.

In the welter of imperialist war plans, formed and being carried out by the most reactionary and undemocratic forces of American life, it has become a matter of life and death for the democratic forces of America—indispensably led by labor—to intervene in the whole sphere of the foreign policy of this country. As, at the dawn of our nationhood, a rejection of the fatal foreign policy engendered within the sordid reactionary forces of American political life, and the acceptance of Jefferson's proposed foreign policy of peace based upon the strength of cooperation with the revolutionary Republican forces of Europe, brought this the young American Republic to safety—just so, today, the American working class heirs of the revolutionary republican Jefferson must work for the safety of their democratic heritage by compelling a foreign

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policy of cooperation with the only remaining powerful progressive forces of Europe, with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Those who in America strive to alienate the United States from, and to continue the present foreign policy of tricky hypocrisy and sabotage of relations with, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, are playing the same treacherous role toward America as was played by the Petains and Weygands, the Lavals, Daladiers and Blums in breaking up the keystone of France's security—her mutual aid pact with the strongest power of Europe, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The imperative duty of the American workers and all their democratic allies is to fight for the strength and peace of America through the most cordial relations and cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the struggling democracy of China.

American workers must be brought ever closer in information, understanding and common action with the workers and democratic mass movements of the Latin American countries. They must be rallied to the most immediate concrete aid to the rescue of the Spanish republican refugees in France, and their transportation and resettlement in Latin America, supporting the campaign already launched by the United Spanish Aid Committee; and learn how to help the Spanish people prepare to overthrow the Franco fascist dictatorship. They must be rallied to more energetic aid to the heroic Chinese people, fighting for their national independence against United States munitions furnished to the Japanese imperialists. They must learn to understand and help the workers of the European lands who, on both sides of the battle-lines, are preparing their forces for the overthrow of their capitalist, imperialist, fascist oppressors and destroyers.

These are the perspectives and tasks of labor and the toiling masses. The perspectives and tasks of the Communist Party can only be the same, with the Communist Party in the forefront as the most far-sighted, the most advanced, the most organized, the most persistent, the most courageous, the most reliable detachment of the working class.

To play such a role, the Communist Party must give the most serious attention to building its own forces, to recruiting new members, to educating itself and its supporters ever more thoroughly, to mastering the theory and practice of scientific socialism, which is communism. These are our perspectives and tasks. Let us move forward with deeper confidence and determination, knowing that we represent the masses and the future.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

ADOPTED BY THE TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION, MAY 27-31, 1938, AND AMENDED BY THE SPECIAL CONVENTION, NOVEMBER 16-17, 1940.

PREAMBLE

THE Communist Party of the United States of America is a working class political party carrying forward today the traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Jackson and Lincoln, and of the Declaration of Independence; it upholds the achievements of democracy, the right of "life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness," and defends the United States Constitution against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and all popular liberties; it is devoted to defense of the immediate interests of workers, farmers, and all toilers against capitalist exploitation, and to preparation of the working class for its historic mission to unite and lead the American people to extend these democratic principles to their necessary and logical conclusions:

By establishing common ownership of the national economy, through a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, nation by nation, and race by race, and thereby the abolition of class divisions in society; that is, by the establishment of socialism, according to the scientific principles enunciated by the greatest teachers of mankind, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, embodied in the Communist International; and the free cooperation of the American people with those of other lands, striving toward a world without oppression and war, a world brotherhood of man.

To this end, the Communist Party of the United States of America establishes the basic laws of its organization in this Constitution.

ARTICLE I
Name

The name of this organization shall be *Communist Party of the United States of America.*

ARTICLE II
Party Emblems

The highest Party authority in each State shall have power to select the emblem of the Communist Party of that State, taking into consideration the Statutes of said State applying thereto. Its design shall be in such form as shall repre-

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sent the idea of the unity of worker and farmer.

ARTICLE III
Membership

Section 1. Any person, twenty-one years of age or more, regardless of race, color, national origin, sex, or religious belief who is a citizen of the United States, and whose loyalty to the working class is unquestioned, shall be eligible for membership.

Section 2. A Party member is one who accepts the Party program, as determined by the Constitution and the conventions of the Party, attends the regular meetings of the membership Branch, pays dues regularly and is active in Party work.

Section 3. An applicant for membership shall be endorsed by at least two members of the Communist Party. Applications are subject to discussion and decision by the basic organization of the Party to which the application is presented.

Section 4. There shall be no members-at-large without special permission of the National Committee or of a State Committee.

Section 5. Party members two months in arrears in payment of dues cease to be members of the Party in good standing, and shall be informed thereof.

Section 6. Members who are four months in arrears shall be dropped from Party membership. Every member three months in arrears shall be officially informed of this provision, and a personal effort shall be made to bring such member into good standing. However, if a member whose membership is terminated for these reasons applies for re-admission within six months, he may, on the approval of the next higher Party Committee, be permitted to pay up his back dues and keep his standing as an old member.

ARTICLE IV
Initiation and Dues

Section 1. The initiation fee for an employed person shall be 50 cents and for an unemployed person 10 cents.

Section 2. Dues shall be paid every month according to rates fixed by the National Committee.

Section 3. The income from dues shall be distributed to the various Party organizations as determined by the National Committee.

Section 4. Fifty per cent of the initiation fee shall be sent to the National Committee and 50 per cent shall remain with the State Organization.

ARTICLE V
International Solidarity and Assessment

Section 1. Every four months, all members of the Party shall pay an assessment equal to the average dues payment per month for the previous four months, for an International Solidarity Fund. This money shall be used by the National Committee exclusively to aid the workers and toilers of other lands, and their organizations who may be victimized in their struggle against fascism and military reaction, for national and social emancipation, for peace and freedom.

Section 2. All local or district

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assessments are prohibited, except by special permission of the National Committee. Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or the National Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases stamps for such special assessments.

ARTICLE VI
The Party: Rights and Duties of Members

Section 1. The Communist Party of the U.S.A. upholds the democratic achievements of the American people. It opposes with all its power any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy whereby the majority of the American people have obtained power to determine their own destiny in any degree. It condemns and opposes all policies and acts of sabotage, espionage, and all other forms of "Fifth Column" activity. The Communist Party of the U.S.A., standing unqualifiedly for the right of the majority to direct the destinies of our country, will fight with all its strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within, to impose upon our people the arbitrary will of any selfish minority group or party or clique or conspiracy.

Section 2. Every member of the Party who is in good standing has not only the right, but the duty, to participate in the making of the policies of the Party and in the election of its leading committees, in a manner provided for in the Constitution.

Section 3. In matters of state or local nature, the Party organizations have the right to exercise full initiative and to make decisions within the limits of the general policies and decisions of the Party.

Section 4. After thorough discussion, the majority vote decides the policy of the Party, and the minority is duty-bound to carry out the decision.

Section 5. Party members disagreeing with any decision of a Party organization or committee have the right to appeal that decision to the next higher body, and may carry the appeal to the highest bodies of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., its National Committee and the National Convention. Decisions of the National Convention are final. While the appeal is pending, the decision must nevertheless be carried out by every member of the Party.

Section 6. In pre-Convention periods, individual Party members and delegates to the Convention shall have unrestricted right of discussion on any questions of Party policy and tactics and the work and future composition of the leading committees.

Section 7. The decisions of the Convention shall be final and every Party member and Party organization shall be dutybound to recognize the authority of the Convention decisions and the leadership elected by it.

Section 8. All Party members in mass organizations (trade unions, farm and fraternal organizations,

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etc.) shall cooperate to promote and strengthen the given organizations and shall abide by the democratic decisions of these organizations.

Section 9. It shall be the duty of Party members to explain the mass policies of the Party and the principles of socialism.

Section 10. It shall be the duty of Party members to struggle against the national oppression of the Negro people, to fight for complete equality for Negroes in all phases of American life and to promote the unity of Negro and white toilers for the advancement of their common interests.

Section 11. All Party members who are eligible shall be required to belong to their respective trade unions.

Section 12. All officers and leading committees of the Party from the Branch Executive Committee up to the highest committees are elected either directly by the membership or through their elected delegates. Every committee must report regularly on its activities to its Party organization.

Section 13. Any Party officer may be removed at any time from his position by a majority vote of the body which elected him, or by the body to which he is responsible, with the approval of the National Committee.

Section 14. Requests for release of a Party member from responsible posts may be granted only by the Party organization which elected him, or to which he is responsible, in consultation with the next higher committee.

Section 15. No Party member shall have personal or political relationship with confirmed Trotskyites, Lovestoneites, or other known enemies of the Party and of the working class.

Section 16. All Party members eligible shall register and vote in the elections for all public offices.

ARTICLE VII
Structure of the Party

Section 1. The basic organization of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. is the Branch.

The Executive Committee of the Branch shall be elected once a year by the membership.

Section 2. The State Organization shall comprise all Party organizations in one state.

The highest body of the State Organization is the State Convention, which shall convene every two years, and shall be composed of delegates elected by the Conventions of the subdivisions of the Party or Branches in the state. The delegates are elected on the basis of numerical strength.

A State Committee of regular and alternate members shall be elected at the State Convention with full power to carry out the decisions of the Convention and conduct the activities of the State Organization until the next State Convention.

The State Committee may elect from among its members an Executive Committee, which shall be responsible to the State Committee.

Special State Conventions may be called either by a majority vote of the State Committee, or upon written request of the Branches representing one-third of the member-

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ship of the state, with the approval of the National Committee.

Section 3. District Organizations may be established by the National Committee, covering two or more states. In such cases the State Committee shall be under the jurisdiction of the District Committees, elected by and representing the Party organizations of the states composing these Districts. The rules of convening District Conventions and the election of leading committees shall be the same as those provided for the State Organization.

Section 4. State and District Organizations shall have the power to establish all necessary sub-divisions such as County, City and Section Organizations and committees.

Section 5. The State Organization shall have full autonomy and power within the framework of the program, policies and Constitution of the National Organization.

ARTICLE VIII
National Organization

Section 1. The supreme authority in the Communist Party of the U.S.A. is the National Convention. Regular National Conventions shall be held every two years. Only National Conventions are authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire Party and its membership, except as provided in Article VIII, Section 6.

Section 2. The National Convention shall be composed of delegates elected by the State and District Conventions. The delegates are elected on the basis of numerical strength of the State Organizations. The basis for representation shall be determined by the National Committee.

Section 3. For two months prior to the Convention, discussions shall take place in all Party organizations on the main resolutions and problems coming before the Convention. During this discussion all Party organizations have the right and duty to adopt resolutions and amendments to the draft Resolutions of the National Committee for consideration at the Convention.

Section 4. The National Convention elects the National Committee, a National Chairman and General Secretary by majority vote. The National Committee shall be composed of regular and alternate members. The alternate members shall have voice but no vote.

Section 5. The size of the National Committee shall be decided upon by each National Convention of the Party. Members of the National Committee must have been active members of the Party for at least three years.

Section 6. The National Committee is the highest authority of the Party between National Conventions, and is responsible for enforcing the Constitution and securing the execution of the general policies adopted by the democratically elected delegates in the National Convention assembled. The National Committee represents the Party as a whole, and has the right to make decisions with full authority on any problem facing the Party between Conventions. The National Committee organizes and supervises its various departments and committees; conducts all the political and

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organizational work of the Party; appoints or removes the editors of its press, who work under its leadership and control; organizes and guides all undertakings of importance for the entire Party; distributes the Party forces and controls the central treasury. The National Committee, by majority vote of its members, may call special State or National Conventions. The National Committee shall submit a certified, audited financial report to each National Convention.

Section 7. The National Committee elects from among its members a Political Committee and such additional secretaries and such departments and committees as may be considered necessary for most efficient work. The Political Committee is charged with the responsibility of carrying out the decisions and the work of the National Committee between its full sessions. It is responsible for all its decisions to the National Committee. The size of the Political Committee shall be decided upon by majority vote of the National Committee.

Members of the Political Committee and editors of the central Party organs must have been active members of the Party for not less than five years.

The National Committee shall meet at least once in four months.

The National Committee may, when it deems it necessary, call Party Conferences. The National Committee shall decide the basis of attendance at such Conferences. Such Conferences shall be consultative bodies auxiliary to the National Committee.

ARTICLE IX
Disciplinary Procedure

Section 1. Breaches of Party discipline by individual members, financial irregularities, as well as any conduct or action detrimental to the Party's prestige and influence among the working masses and harmful to the best interests of the Party, may be punished by censure, public censure, removal from responsible posts, and by expulsion from the Party. Breaches of discipline by Party Committees may be punished by removal of the Committee by the next higher Party Committee, which shall then conduct new elections.

Section 2. Charges against individual members may be made by any person—Party or non-Party—in writing, to the Branches of the Party or to any leading committee. The Party Branch shall have the right to decide on any disciplinary measure, including expulsion. Such action is subject to final approval by the State Committee.

Section 3. The State and National Committees have the right to hear and take disciplinary action against any individual member or organization under their jurisdiction.

Section 4. All parties concerned shall have the fullest right to appear, to bring witnesses and to testify before the Party organization. The member punished shall have the right to appeal any disciplinary decision to the higher committees up to the National Convention of the Party.

Section 5. Party members found to be strike-breakers, degenerates, habitual drunkards, betrayers of

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Party confidence, provocateurs, persons who practice or advocate terrorism, sabotage, espionage, or force and violence, or members whose actions are otherwise detrimental to the Party and the working class, shall be summarily dismissed from positions of responsibility, expelled from the Party and exposed before the general public.

ARTICLE X
Amending the Constitution

This Constitution may be amended as follows: (a) by decision of a majority of the voting delegates present at the National Convention; or (b) by the National Committee for the purpose of complying with any law of any state or of the United States or whenever any provision of this Constitution and By-Laws conflict with any such law. Such amendments made by the National Committee shall be published in the Party press or Discussion Bulletins of the National Committee and shall remain in full force and effect until acted upon by the National Convention.

ARTICLE XI
By-Laws

Section 1. By-Laws may be adopted, based on this Constitution, for the purpose of establishing uniform rules and procedure for the proper functioning of the Party organizations. By-Laws may be adopted or changed by majority vote of the National Convention, or between Conventions by majority vote of the National Committee.

Section 2. State By-Laws not in conflict with the National Constitution and By-Laws may be adopted or changed by majority vote of the State Convention or, between Conventions, by majority vote of the State Committee.

ARTICLE XII
Charters

The National Committee shall issue Charters to State or District Organizations and, at the request of the respective State Organizations, to County and City Organizations, defining the territory over which they have jurisdiction and authority.

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THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM AND THE FUTURE OF CANADA

BY TIM BUCK

THE profound consequences of the imperialist war for Canada are becoming evident. Some of them are direct consequences of the war and the far-reaching changes it has forced in state and class relationships; others flow from the policies to which Canada has been committed by the Canadian bourgeoisie and the "Liberal" government of Mackenzie King. The trend of development in Canada, in general, provides graphic evidence of the correctness of the warning uttered by the Communist Party of the U. S. A. in its statement of October, 1939, that:

". . . the war has basically altered all international relationships and is profoundly changing the class and political alignments within each capitalist nation."

The capitalist press and all the organs of government-controlled propaganda are making frantic efforts to persuade the working and lower middle-class people that "war prosperity" will soon be experienced by all sections of the population, but life is rapidly teaching the masses that such is not likely to be the case. The war is bringing hardship, uncertainty and disillusionment to the masses in Canada.

The foregoing is not to minimize the influence of the huge war expenditures upon Canadian economy. There is now in progress a tremendous expansion of production of war materials. Small arms, artillery, munitions of all types, planes, tanks and small naval vessels are all either in production or plans for their production are afoot.

War profits are soaring. On September 5, before Canada had officially declared war, the multi-millionaire owner of the *Toronto Globe and Mail* warned the Government editorially that "profits must be adequate." Within a week Big Business was pressing a veritable *blitzkrieg* against the 5½ per cent profits limit upon Government contracts. Before the end of September the Hon. C. D. Howe, in charge of Government war contracts, announced that he had found it impossible to place orders with the 5½ per cent limitation; it had there-

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fore been removed. Since that day the sky has been the limit.

Higher Profits Through the the French Capitulation

The French capitulation transformed the tone of Canadian financial comment from complaining disappointment to undisguised jubilation. The *Financial Post*, authoritative organ of big capital, wrote gleefully:

"There is no longer any disposition to save money . . . conscription is slapped upon the nation and, presto, uniforms, side-arms, etc., are needed for every able-bodied man."

To the capitalist class, the war had suddenly become a splendid opportunity to amass more riches. Multi-millionaire lumber baron H. R. McMillan, Chairman of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and now "National Director of Timber Purchasing," gave voice to the thoughts of the capitalist class when, addressing a gathering of business men in Vancouver, he declared bluntly: "We are not engaged in this war for high moral purposes or because of a spirit of high adventure."

Events provide eloquent testimony that he spoke the truth. The half yearly reports of Canadian corporations read like tales of a new bonanza. Corporations report profits double, triple, and even quadruple those of last year. For example:

"Net profits of Canada Wire and Cable, Ltd., for the first six months of 1940 were two and a half times as high as for the same period last year. After all charges including depreciation, income tax and the new excess profits tax, . . . earnings per share on the class A stock were equal to $9.66 per share, compared with $2.07 per share in the first half of 1939." (*Financial Post*, July 27, 1940.)

The foregoing is the more "interesting" because the Canada Wire and Cable is one of the corporations named to operate one of the new plants being built at governmental expense.

Dozens of reports similar to that of Canada Wire and Cable could be quoted. Canada Foundries and Forgings reported earnings for the first six months of 1940 in excess of earnings for the entire year 1939. Remington Rand of Canada reported "earnings *four* times as great" as in the first six months of 1939. Ontario Steel Products, Eastern Steel Products, Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation, and the Steel Company of Canada all reported doubled earnings. Canada Machinery Corporation reported the highest profits since 1929.

The "fruits" of war are not limited to the steel and iron industry. The highly monopolized textile industry also cashed in, with increased earnings exemplified by Canadian Cottons which made net profits equal to $13.48 per share as compared with a deficit equal to $3.80 per share last year.

Hectic extension of plant and equipment is under way. The big corporations are using their huge undistributed profits, as well as current earnings, for plant extension thus evading the much touted "excess profits tax." In addition the

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Government is financing construction of a hundred and forty-two new plants (the number contracted for on October 15) including small arms, chemical, aircraft, one of the largest shell-filling plants in the world, and probably several plants for the construction of aircraft engines and, it is rumored, bomb sights. These new plants are to be operated by private corporations and it is proposed that they shall be given to the corporations operating them "at the war's end."

The *Financial Post* "explains" this proposition in the following terms:

"To do special jobs of war, plants are being expanded or new plants built. Their capital cost is simply part of the cost of war. As such, Government is bearing most of the expense. Result is that with peace, these are going to be 'paid-up' or 'written off' plants, set-ups that in some cases will certainly make the difference between economic and uneconomic operation." (*Ibid.*, Aug. 3, 1940.)

On top of the hectic expansion of plant and production, Canada has become the main channel for British purchases of war materials in the United States. The jubilation of the jackal-like capitalists can be easily understood. This is the culmination of their profitable role as the brokers between British and American imperialism. John R. Lamb, president of the Bank of Toronto, emphasized this in his annual address to the shareholders when he reminded them:

"Apart from the war itself, the leading development of the year from our viewpoint was the emphasis thrown upon Canada's position as a source of raw materials and war supplies for Great Britain and as an intermediary for business between the Allies and the United States."

The pages of the financial papers exude anticipation. There is talk of repatriating the entire portion of Canada's foreign indebtedness now held in Britain. There is talk of transforming Canada from a debtor to a creditor of the British moneybags. Characteristically, the improbability of Britain paying war debts to Canada while not paying them to the United States is ignored. Plans for government expenditures foreshadow a staggering increase in the national debt and the more outspoken financial writers are already suggesting that perhaps a higher interest rate on war loans is desireable. There is cynical anticipation that part of the billions which the Government plans to pass on to the profiteering capitalists will be reinvested in Canada's national debt at war-time rates of interest.

Thus the capitalists of Canada expect to get immensely richer from the war.

Big Business Takes Over Government

The "Liberal" Mackenzie King government has literally turned over the administration of Canada's economic life to the men who own and direct Big Business. A series of special departments and committees have been set up to organize and "coordinate" Canada's "war effort." The announced functions of these

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bodies runs from that of the "Voluntary Service Registration Bureau" through every phase of economic and civil life to those of "Director of Internment" and the committee of "Internal Order."

The Big Business heads of these departments and committees, under the aegis of Mackenzie King and the Cabinet, are in charge and direct control of all phases of the organization and operation of Canada's war activities, which means all phases of Canada's civil life, virtually independently of Parliament. Parliament, indeed, has played a very minor role in Canada since September, 1939. It was called into session on September 7, 1939, to face Mackenzie King's challenge that the members of the House of Commons must either endorse what he had done, literally committing Canada to war, or face an immediate general election. The members of Parliament chose to rubber-stamp his actions. Immediately after doing so they were sent home. Parliament was not called into session again until May, 1940—although there was a general election in March—and it was dismissed again in the first week of August. It was convened again on November 5. King had announced that it would meet simply to comply with the constitutional requirements and adjourn after two days but there was such an outcry from the bourgeois opposition press against this exclusion of the Conservative Party from effective discussion of national policies upon which, basically, they agree with King, that he decided to allow a regular session and a debate upon the Government's activities. It is significant, and characteristic of his recent policies, that this is being done to satisfy the most reactionary elements in Canada and not because of any "devotion to democratic principles."

The Blackout of Civil Liberties

While big capital, with the connivance of the "Liberal" Government, is seizing upon the war and the temporary confusion of the masses to take over the administration of the country, Mackenzie King is carrying through an equally systematic campaign to crush out all attempts at the exercise of civil liberties. There is a regime of ruthless repression "legalized" by the "War Measures Act," which gives the Government dictatorial powers, and the auxiliary "Defense of Canada Regulations" which Mackenzie King extends and amends from time to time by "Order in Council." *

Under these misnamed "Defense Regulations" the Communist Party of Canada and more than a score of other working class organizations have been outlawed. All genuine working class papers have been suppressed. Systematic raids are carried out upon workers' homes—most of them in the small hours of the morning—without search warrants or any of the technicalities which are supposed to ensure that "a Canadian's home is his castle." Men and women arrested in such raids are given no option as to how they shall be tried, or whether

* Legislation-made law and put into effect without being submitted to Parliament.

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they shall be tried at all. That option is entirely in the hands of the Government. A person may receive a summary trial in a magistrate's court, a trial by jury, or no trial at all: he may be whisked off to a concentration* camp without the laying of any charge. If a charge is preferred the onus is upon the prisoner to prove his innocence, otherwise his guilt is assumed.

Hundreds of workers have been thrown into prison and concentration camps. Upwards of two hundred of the best-known and respected leaders of the working class movement have been thus imprisoned without any formality of charges against them.

What the so-called "protection of the law" really means to the working class was illustrated recently by what happened to two workers who did succeed in proving their innocence in the higher court. Two young men, one, a civil servant employed in the Dominion Department of Finance, and the other, a member of the Air Force, were charged with complicity in distribution of the election platform of the Communist Party. They were given a trial. After being declared guilty in a magistrate's court they appealed against the judgment, and the Supreme Court upheld their appeal and set them free. As they walked out of the Supreme Court they were seized by Mounties, hustled into a waiting automobile and rushed away to a concentration camp without so much as official admission of the fact.

Some Canadian fascists have been thrown into concentration camps also, to be exact, seven of them. These seven are, or were, with the Hitler-appointed Canadian *fuehrer* Adrien Arcand, the national leaders who boasted only a few months before the outbreak of war that they were preparing an army of seventy thousand "blue shirts" to march upon Ottawa and take over the government. These were also granted a trial. On the second day of the trial, however, the revelations that threatened to come out caused the Minister of Justice, Lapointe, to order its suspension and the seven were interned. The revelations that the Dominion Government is anxious to prevent are not completely secret. The fascists had intimate relationships with many men in high places in Canada, including several right near the top, particularly in provincial governments. It is suspected that it is largely because of that fact that the interned fascists, like Sir and Lady Moseley in Britain, are being accorded de luxe treatment.

Not so the poor working people who are members of the "Jehovah's Witnesses" sect. These working men and women, many of whom, in marked contrast to the great majority of the occupants of pulpits, are sincere pacifists, are being hounded mercilessly and sentenced to prison for terms which in one or two cases have vied for ferocity with the treatment meted out to Communists.

Under the "Defense Regulations" no Communist or member of any organization which is opposed to the

* The Government prefers the word: Internment.

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war can hold public office. Communists, elected by big majorities of the electorate, have been seized in midnight raids and rushed off to concentration camps. The myth of Parliamentary immunity is being rudely dispelled. It has recently leaked out that an "internment order" has been issued for James Litterick, Communist member of the Provincial Legislature of Manitoba. Up to the hour of writing he has succeeded in eluding the Mounties, however, and continues to lead the revolutionary movement in Manitoba, from illegality.

As part of the "Defense Regulations" there has recently been enacted a new law termed the "Treachery Act." This law prescribes the death penalty for "treason, assisting the enemy forces, impeding those of his majesty or endangering their lives." The court is given no option. In case of conviction the penalty is death. This law further provides that any person convicted of any act likely to prejudice "efficient prosecution of the war" shall "be liable to penal servitude for life."

The Treachery Act must not be confused with military law. It is a civil law, aimed not only against possible saboteurs but also against those who are opposed to the war and the insensate sacrifice of the real interests of Canada's people. Gordon Conant, Attorney General of Ontario, expressed it spirit when he declared to a meeting of ex-service men recently: "We've got to get a lot more tough than we have been" and went on to welcome the new Act, declaring that those who oppose the war deserve capital punishment.

Attacks upon civil liberties are not new in Canada but nothing like Mackenzie King's present campaign has ever been experienced here before. R. B. Bennett, the multi-millionaire exponent of reaction, who, in 1932, advocated that Communists "be crushed beneath an iron heel of ruthlessness," tried to crush the strivings of the masses with police clubs and "Section 98" which prescribed the penalty of from two to twenty years' imprisonment for members of any "unlawful association." It has remained for the mealy-mouthed "Liberal" humanitarian," William Lyon Mackenzie King, who used to boast so proudly of his descent from the "little Rebel," the bourgeois revolutionary William Lyon Mackenzie, to emulate Hitler and invoke the death penalty against those who fight for the interests of the masses against his sacrifice of workers' lives and happiness to enrich the profiteers.

Social-Democracy in the Service of the Bourgeoisie

The social reformists in Canada are playing their traditional role. The leaders of Canada's Socialist Party, the C.C.F.* are "all out" for the war. They hold up the Churchill Government as the champion of democracy. They vie with the most rabid jingoes in support of British imperialism, while striving to persuade big capital that they, the leaders of the C.C.F., are specially

* Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. It is not a federation but an individual membership organization.

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qualified to lead "Canada's war effort." Several of them who posed as "Lefts" until the outbreak of the war are now among the most energetic of all the bourgeois politicians in demanding more energetic prosecution of the war and more effective methods for crushing out the anti-war activities, in which the Communist Party is the leading force. An example of their technique is to be seen in the following from a speech by T. C. Douglas, C.C.F. member of parliament, on the occasion of one of the periodic increases in the severity of the "Defense Regulations":

". . . what I mainly arose to say is that those of us who have been criticizing these regulations have done so, not because they are too severe—that is not the proper term—but because in many instances they are not specific enough. . . . We are asking, not for a lessening of severity so much as for a clarification." (*Parliamentary Debates*, June 13, 1940, pp. 820-21.)

What he meant by "specific" was explained by his further statement in the same speech that "what is said about fascism can be said equally about communism." No wonder that he could declare on another occasion, with the double-talk of boast and complaint that: "In recent months some of my friends have accused me of being an imperialist." (*Ibid.*, May 23, 1940, pp. 173-76.)

The unlimited support given to the capitalist class by the C.C.F. leadership is illustrated by the following, from a parliamentary speech of M. J. Coldwell, the leader of the Party, in support of the appriations for war purposes last July 31:

"The present war, I venture to say, has united our people in a manner which seemed impossible a year ago. . . .

"It seemed that we were following a path which led away from the interests of democracy towards the support of selfish and narrow policies which placed property interests first. Today, however, there is no longer any doubt in the minds of lovers of freedom throughout the world that the present government of Great Britain, which is giving us leadership in this war, stands for the democratic way of life. . . .

"It seems to me that at last we have recovered the power to revitalize democracy. When we look across the seas we see the people of Britain united as they seldom have been in their long history. I submit this unity has been brought about because the people of Britain have at last found leaders whom they can trust.

"Today I know that I can trust the government now in power in Great Britain to continue this fight and to wage it for the democratic ideals which we have at heart." (*Ibid.*, July 31, 1940, p. 2341.)

The Canadian Forum, organ of the "brain trusters" of the C.C.F., declared in its July issue:

"All men who genuinely believe in a liberal democracy may congratulate that Messrs. Roosevelt and King are in charge of the two North American countries during this war. They are, we believe, trustworthy custodians of the traditions of freedom which we cherish in this part of the world."

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Under such "leadership" the C.C.F. is being harnessed to the war policies of the Canadian bourgeoisie under the pretense that the objective of the war is "a new social order." Grant McNeil, until lately national vice chairman of the party, is reported as follows: "McNeil briefly surveyed the international scene, stressing British affairs, where a state of 'war socialism' now existed. . . ." *(The Federationist,* Vancouver, B. C., September 12, 1940.)

Comment is superfluous. "War Socialism!"—the regime which has outlawed strikes, mercilessly beaten down the living standards of the masses, and is fiercely assaulting India's anti-imperialist national liberation movement.

Pages could be filled with similar quotations. The leaders of the C.C.F., following the invariable line of Social-Democracy, are betraying the Socialist workers all the way down the line, making themselves valuable to the capitalist class by their treachery, confusing and demoralizing the workers who trust them, as a means of maintaining their influence and, thus, their value to the master class.

The trade union bureaucracy, with a few honorable exceptions, follows the same line of betrayal. They are giving unreserved support to the war policies of the Government including its most vicious anti-labor measures. They have actually facilitated violent attacks upon the trade union movement, such as the following:

Pat Sullivan, president of the Canadian Seamen's Union (A. F. of L.), was seized by the Mounties an hour before he was to appear before a conciliation board to present the seamen's case for a wage increase. He was rushed off to a concentration camp without charge or trial. What had been done to him became public only because the attorney for the union went in search of the president when he failed to show up at the Board's hearing. The only explanation the Mounted Police and the Department of Justice would vouchsafe for the action was that it had been represented to them that Sullivan was a Communist. No action was taken by the leadership of the Trades and Labor Congress. By its inaction it placed the stamp of its approval upon the kidnaping and internment of one of the most popular and effective union leaders in Canada.

With such encouragement the Mounties plunged into a regular pogrom against the trade union movement. To date, dozens of active unionists, including several officials of international unions, have been thrown into concentration camps. Sidney Sarkin, manager of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Montreal; Fred Collins, member of the Executive of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council, and until recently Canadian vice president of the International Furniture Workers Union; Bruce Magnusson, secretary of the Port Arthur Trades and Labor Council, and organizer of the Lumber Workers Union (A. F. of L.); Charles Murray, Atlantic Coast district organizer of the Canadian Seamen's Union, and scores of others have been seized in the small

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hours of the morning and spirited away.

No action is taken by the Executive of the Trades and Labor Congress. Instead of arousing the working people in defense of trade union rights, these "labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie" engineered a move so that the annual convention actually endorsed the "Defense Regulations" instead of condemning the outrages being committed under them. The *Canadian Press* was thus able to syndicate the following:

"The fifty-sixth annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada voted overwhelmingly here yesterday to support the Defense of Canada Regulations. Delegates [read international officials] squelched a small but noisy minority that sought support for resolutions aimed at what they term 'curtailment of basic democratic rights.'"

The officialdom of the C.I.O. unions in Canada has tried hard to equal the officialdom of the A. F. of L. in fawning upon the capitalist class and demoralizing the working class movement. At the convention in which the Canadian unions of the C.I.O. joined with the almost defunct chauvinistic All-Canadian Congress of Labor in establishing a new rival center to that of the A. F. of L., the officialdom joined forces against the rank and file and, by police intimidations,* forced adoption of a resolution barring Communists from membership in any union affiliated to the center then being established.

The foregoing are but typical examples of a long list of betrayals. The leading "brain truster" of the C.C.F. signed the majority report of a conciliation board, rejecting the demand of Nova Scotia miners for a wage increase on the grounds that the corporation must be given an opportunity to make larger profits before granting a wage increase. E. Sinfield, international official, vice president of the Trades and Labor Congress and boss of the Toronto Building Trades Council (A. F. of L.), similarly signed the majority report of a conciliation board in Toronto which rejected the demand of the employees of the John Inglis Co. (a munitions bonanza for its capitalist owners) for union recognition. In each of these cases the men here named were chosen to "represent labor."

The social traitors are being rewarded with Government appointments. Tallon, the secretary of the Trades and Labor Congress, has quit to take a Government job. Similarly, Garland, national organizer of the C.C.F., moved from the national office of the C.C.F. into a Government job. Other and lesser lights of the C.C.F. have done likewise and an influential section of the leadership now hopes to get a slender finger into the fleshpots of war administration through some form of governmental collaboration. The Manitoba Provincial Section of the C.C.F. has already achieved this aim, having joined in a coalition

* After a resolution to bar Communists from membership in affiliated unions had been rejected twice, once by standing vote, Mosher, the chairman, announced that he must consult his legal adviser and find out whether those voting against were contravening the "Defense of Canada Regulations." The resolution was then passed.

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government with the Liberals and Conservatives in that province.

True to form, the social reformists were negotiating with the bourgeoisie on this question precisely when the Mounties were engaged in a reign of terror against the working class movement in Winnipeg; arresting thirteen workers, including Tom Ewen, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party. The national and provincial conventions of the C.C.F. met in the same city a few days afterwards. In the meantime, one of the thirteen arrested workers, a woman, had been sentenced to two years in the penitentiary, and a manhunt was on for Jim Litterick. But the conventions endorsed the proposal that the Manitoba leadership of the C.C.F. join in a coalition with the Liberals and Tories, on the pretense that it was "not coalition in the ordinary sense, but rather an agreement for governmental cooperation and joint responsibility in an attempt to attain certain objectives."

The Other Side of the Picture

There is another side to the picture, however, and serious representatives of the bourgeoisie are beginning to admit that it is pregnant with danger to their class privileges and rule.

Canada's economy is being completely subordinated to the wartime needs of British imperialism. This is causing an extreme distortion of her economic structure and undermining the export-basis upon which her economy has hitherto depended.

The extent of the chaos for which the background is being prepared may be judged by the anarchic manner of the preparation. It is typified by the war expenditures. At the beginning of the present fiscal year (April 1) the Government estimated its war expenditure for the next twelve months at six hundred million dollars. Actual expenditures were always ahead of estimates in an attempt to catch up with events. Estimates were advanced month by month until August, when the Minister of Finance submitted a new estimate of $940,000,000. What a guess that was may be seen by the experience of the Department of Munitions and Supply. When the figure of $940,000,000 was stated as the probable total of war expenditures for 1940, the estimate of expenditures to be made by the Department of Munitions and Supply was $55,000,000. By October 15, however, this one department had expended $615,000,000, of which $235,000,000 was for new plants or extension of existing plants for production of war materials.*

The estimated productive capacity of the 142 new plants under construction at the expense of the Government is $1,100,000,000 worth of war materials per year. (*The Financial Post* estimate is closer to $1,500,000,000.) When it is realized that the aggregate national income of Canada in 1939, including capital increment, was only $4,250,000,000 and that the plants being con-

* $125,000,000 of this amount was for plants being built at the order of the British Government but the Canadian Government is financing their construction.

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structed at Government expense are only part of the huge armament and munitions industry being built up it becomes clear that the entire basis of Canada's economy is being changed and there can be no return to the "normal" or traditional operation of Canadian economy without a profound and shattering crisis.

A foretaste of what that may mean is already being experienced with the wheat crop. Canada's wheat crop this year totalled 549,190,000 bushels. There was a carry-over from last year's crop of more than 300,000,000 bushels, making the total wheat now on hand 850,000,000 bushels. Domestic consumption averages only 130,000,000 bushels per year. European markets other than the British Isles are closed as a result of the war and the blockade, and British imperialism, desirous of utilizing its purchasing power in the struggle against American imperialism in Latin America, chooses to buy a lot of wheat in Argentina. The largest amount Britain is likely to buy from Canada is 160,000,000 bushels. James Gardiner, the Minister of National War Services, recently made a trip to London in an effort to persuade the British Government to buy more but the press reports that he is "returning with empty hands." Thus, allowing for domestic consumption and the top British purchases to be hoped for, Canada faces the prospect of entering the next crop year with a carry-over of more than 500,000,000 bushels of wheat—enough to fill the entire British import demand for three years.

The consequences of this situation may be disastrous. Canada's economy has been built, very largely, around the raising of wheat for export to British Empire markets and there is no substitute market immediately accessible. The hungry millions of the world need the wheat but capitalism and the imperialist struggle for domination prevent the Canadian farmers supplying it to them.

The financial and industrial interests of Central Canada, whose rich and powerful corporations fattened upon the above world-level prices maintained largely at the expense of the farmers, are now fully occupied with amassing new riches from war contracts. With cynical disregard for the far-reaching consequences that it will have for Canada and her people, they are insisting that the problem of wheat must be solved by reducing acreage by 50 per cent. Such a drastic compulsory reduction, which is actually being considered by the Government, would confront tens of thousands of farmers on the prairie provinces (where no other cash crop is practicable) with starvation. Similar, though smaller-scale, problems confront the tobacco growers of Ontario as a result of Britain's recent deal with Turkey, and are now shaping up for the bacon hog raisers of the whole country.

The financial situation is pregnant with the threat of inflation. Government war expenditures to the end of the present year will exceed the total expenditures upon the war of 1914-18. This, however, is only the beginning. Government plans already call for much

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greater disbursements in 1941, as emphasized by the *Financial Post* of October 26:

"This year the Dominion Government has to find about $1,600,000,000, including regular 'peace-time' expenditures; war costs and repatriation to help United Kingdom financing in Canada. But day by day Canada's war commitments have grown. If between June last and April 1, next, they advance 50 per cent, the total Dominion budget will exceed $2,100,000,000. If the war commitments double, then the budget will be around $2,750,000,000."

The probability is that war expenditures will increase by considerably more than 50 per cent. The only limit upon their expansion at present is labor power and materials. Relief rolls show only a 52 per cent reduction, however, despite the fact that all single men have been summarily cut off and 200,000 men have been sucked into the armed forces. There are still more than 300,000 victims of unemployment on relief, tens of thousands of farmers who hunger for a cash income be it ever so small, tens of thousands of 'teen age boys who have never yet had a chance to earn wages and, what the *Financial Post* studiously evades, rising prices. It is a foregone conclusion that if the British defense is maintained and the war continues to spread, Canada's *war* expenditures will increase to at least a billion and three-quarters next year, making total Dominion Government expenditures $2,400,000,000.

What such expenditures will mean in the lives of Canada's eleven million people becomes evident if one compares the total with the average annual national income of four and a half billion dollars. With the tremendous growth of war production the Government hopes to raise it to five and a half billions in 1941. Even if that figure is achieved, 48 per cent of the national income will be consumed by Government expenditures.

To make these huge expenditures for destruction possible, drastic restriction of consumption is being forced upon the masses of the people. Because of the relatively small number of people in Canada with large incomes, this reduction is being secured by taxing necessities.

"We must consume less, save more and steadily invest in savings certificates and war loans," declaimed Mr. Brooke Claxton, "Liberal M.P., in replying to "the Speech from the Throne" on behalf of the Government.

It is becoming clear to the workers and farmers, however, that what the well-fed gentlemen of the bourgeoisie really mean is "*we* must tighten *your* belt." Unprecedented taxes have been placed upon necessities, including bread. One example will suffice to show the burden of these upon the poor. A certain widely advertised brand of breakfast coffee, which retails in the United States at three pounds for thirty-nine cents, costs twenty-four cents a pound in Canada because of taxation.

By drastic taxation of necessities, a heavy sales tax, a tax upon wages and salaries and a slight increase in

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the tax upon big incomes, the Government has increased its revenue to an estimated $700,000,000 this year—mainly at the expense of the poor. It is obvious, however, that revenue from taxation will provide only a small part of the huge expenditures now being planned. Two war loans have already been raised and the third will be issued shortly. The bourgeoisie anticipates big loans from the United States in the near future and the financial press made no bones about the belief that Secretary Morgenthau's recent "vacation" in Canada concerned such loans, probably—the *Financial Post* suggested—through the Export-Import Bank.

Financial commentators are beginning to admit that inflation will be unavoidable. The Dominion Government will have to borrow at least one and a half billion dollars next year which will be pumped into the economic machinery. Regardless of how large a proportion of it goes to profits, it is bound to have a tremendous inflationary effect which will speed-up the inflationary effects of credit expansion. The public debts of Canada already aggregated $6,450,000,000 in 1937; there is an increase of $814,000,000 this year to date and there will be more. With the prospect of adding a billion and a half to the national debt with each year that the war continues, it is obvious that—regardless of who is defeated first on the field of battle—Canada's national debt is headed for a staggering increase precisely at the time when the basis of the economy by which she has hitherto lived is being destroyed. Decay of her basic "peace-time" export economy, the building of a costly and parasitical armaments and munitions industry, oppressive war taxes upon the poor, inflation to wipe out the equities of the urban middle classes, unprecedented profits for the rich with probable reinvestment of huge war profits in war loans at war-time rates of interest, are the elements in a prospect of financial shipwreck ahead of Canada.

The Beginning of Disillusionment

The disgust to which realization of the predatory aims of the capitalist warmongers gives rise is being sharpened by the cynicism of the bourgeoisie and its mercenary politicians. Mackenzie King, who won the Dominion Elections in March largely by his solemn "no-conscription" pledge, imposed conscription upon the nation within five months of his re-election. Canadian troops are in Britain and their numbers will be increased rapidly as soon as equipment is ready. Canadian troops are on garrison duty at Greenland and Bermuda, every man between the ages of eighteen and sixty is registered, and the regimentation of Canadian labor is proceeding at express speed.

But, while urging the young man to cross the Atlantic to fight for "the mother country," and taxing the poor to the limit of their endurance supposedly for the same cause, the capitalist class is systematically selling the Empire short and snuggling up closer to American imperialism. The sudden announcement of the Canada-United

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States Defense Treaty and the so-called "destroyers for bases" deal, created doubt and amazement among the masses who have been sedulously taught to believe that the bourgeoisie would fight to the last drop of its loudly avowed "British blood" to keep Britain's influence supreme in Canada. It produced no such amazement among the leaders of the capitalist class of course because, while the development was a result of objective factors over which they had no effective immediate control, the dominant circles of the Canadian bourgeoisie have systematically connived at precisely such a development. What happened constituted, in fact, a logical continuation of the policies of Mackenzie King.

One result of these events, however, has been the stirring of doubts in the ranks of the bourgeois ideologists. Bishop Renison, one of the most violent and jingoistic imperialists in Canada, betrayed this when, immediately after the signing of the Canada-United States treaty, he declared that henceforth he would speak only of "Eternal truths" from his pulpit and would refuse to discuss current events. The *Toronto Globe and Mail* welcomed the bishop's statement and suggested that it would be well if more clerics would do likewise, accompanying its advice with the following pearl of bourgeois wisdom:

"The rapid growth in the practice of psychiatry and neurology indicates more than anything else the chronic state of uneasiness among the people. There is beginning but no end to their spiritual and emotional lives. There is no guiding principle to regulate their conduct, no ultimate purpose toward which their energies may be directed."

To the chauvinistic colonial-minded *Toronto Evening Telegram* which had attempted to analyze the probable results of the treaty and the "deal," the *Globe and Mail* directed an editorial warning against discussion of such matters in the heat of the moment while the country is at war. Bourgeois awareness of the growing disillusionment of the masses is fairly well reflected in the editorial warning of the *Globe and Mail* that: "Combination of fear, uncertainty and lack of definite purpose has robbed the people of their peace of mind."

As Lenin so well explained in 1915, however:

"The experiences of the war, like the experiences of every crisis in history, of every great calamity and every sudden turn in human life, stun and break some people, but they harden and enlighten others." (V. I. Lenin, "Collapse of the Second International," *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 176, International Publishers, New York.)

Such a development, albeit as yet on a small scale, is already to be seen in Canada. The doubt and disillusionment deplored by the multi-millionaire owner of the *Globe and Mail* begin to be manifested in the activities of the masses of the people. The rising cost of living and the increased opportunities for employment find reflection in a rapid increase of strikes. There were considerably more strikes during the first half of 1940 than during the

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entire year of 1939, and workers are demonstrating increasing confidence. Miners, steel workers, seamen, lumber workers, automobile and shipyard workers led the way. At the time of writing there are strikes in Canada's two major shipbuilding yards; the employees at the Chrysler plant at Windsor, Ontario, have voted overwhelmingly to strike;* freight handlers on the Montreal waterfront have just voted to strike; the striking employees of a textile mill in Ontario are voting on terms, the workers at the Algoma Steel Mills have won a wage increase and voted to join the S.W.O.C.; and the workers at the huge plant of Consolidated Smelters at Trail, B. C., are demanding a wage increase and challenging the twenty-year old company union. The reply of big capital to the demands of the workers has been attempts to have strikes declared illegal and the throwing of strike leaders into concentration camps. But police terror and concentration camps have not prevented the growth of militancy, so big capital is now demanding Government action to fix wages and prevent workers from quitting their jobs.

"Should wages be pegged?" asks the *Globe and Mail,* editorially, and the editor's answer is: yes. The *Financial Post* declares, in support of the same line but with much more elaborate trimmings, that: "The efficient mobilization and control of war-time labor supply is the most immediately urgent requirement of Canada's war effort."

The Dominion Government appointed a "Labor Coordinator" but big capital was not satisfied. The "Labor Coordinator" arranged an inter-provincial conference to iron out differences between provincial labor regulations, etc., buf big capital ridiculed it and demanded "much more drastic steps." The *Financial Post* Ottawa correspondent reported recently that:

> "The labor control program which Ottawa now knows must be faced carries far-reaching implications. . . . If the Prime Minister cannot achieve [it] . . . some form of national government may be necessary. . . . At the moment the only question which is really in doubt is timing. Just now the Government is inclined to put off the day when drastic steps must be taken."

It is obvious that an attempt is being engineered even now to put over measures for the pegging of wages and the regimentation of Canada's workers.* In their present mood there is little question but that the workers will resist any such measures and big struggles may be expected as a result.

The intense resentment of the prairie wheat farmers against the manner in which they are being made victims of the war is finding expression in a wave of mass meetings and protest actions, held in spite of the "Defense Regulations." Under the leadership of Mrs. Dorise Neilsen, progressive Unity member

* The press reported the arrest of twenty-five pickets at the Chrysler plant on November 11. They were charged under the Defense of Canada Regulations.—*Editor.*

* An Order in Council was announced on November 8 which prohibits employers from accepting applications for employment from workers already employed upon munitions production. A penalty of $500 is decreed for each offense.

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of Parliament from North Battleford, Saskatchewan, broad farmers' conferences are being held. The conferences are not radical in the ordinarily accepted sense of the term. The farmers are demanding abolition of the rule which limits the amount of wheat they may deliver for sale to an average of eight bushels per acre sown, release of all persons interned because of their labor activities, the resignation of the Minister of Agriculture, extension of substantial credits to national China to finance Chinese importation of Canadian wheat, removal of the tariff on farm machinery, nationalization of the armament industries, and so on.

The significance of these demands lies precisely in their extreme moderation. They are the farmers' reply to the hard-faced demands of big capital that acreage be reduced by half. These proposals of the farmers constitute the program around which they must fight to retain the farms into which many of them have put their entire lives, and in most cases the lives of their families; and there is little doubt but that the farmers will fight for their farms to the limit of their ability.

While there was no open mass resistance against the legal introduction of conscription, tens of thousands of workers and farmers "voted with their feet" by refusing to register. A similar type of voting was evident in the extremely lukewarm response of the workers and middle-class people to the second war loan which was barely successful. This impelled the ultra-reactionary sections of the capitalist press to hint that some form of pressure must be used in future to ensure that more cash be forthcoming from the non-capitalist sections of the population.

The *Financial Post* gave the lead to a systematic campaign in that direction with the following:

"With corporations, 'wealthy' people and the middle class paying heavily in increased taxes, it would be necessary to find additional money from the 'new rich,' the workers who were in many cases formerly on relief, who were now enjoying substantial war industry work incomes. . . .

"Today the group with surplus funds are to an important degree workers in war industry and war-stimulated industry such as construction. . . . But this group generally is spending freely, enjoying the fruits of higher incomes."

A scheme calculated to satisfy big capital was quickly worked out and is now in operation. It is disguised as a "War Savings Campaign." Organized under the authority of the Department of Finance and the Bank of Canada the scheme is directed towards involving every worker in the purchase of "War Savings" certificates or stamps. It operates through local committees.

According to newspaper reports of a conference held in Ottawa, on October 29, eleven thousand firms are already "cooperating" by making periodic deductions from wages. The following sentences from the press report of the proceedings of the conference indicate clearly that the real purpose of the campaign is

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to reduce consumption on the part of the already hard-pressed working people.

"One point was stressed at all sessions and that was the need of building up in Canada a sane program of saving. The sale of certificates is a definite part of the war economy program of preventing inflation. It is a means of avoiding the expansion of luxury buying which featured the last war."

So, the workers who in tens of thousands of cases are now back at work for the first time in a decade are to be saved from "luxury buying." The cynical irony of that is becoming evident to the workers who are being sucked into munitions industry at wage rates so low that, even with overtime, tens of thousands of them average less than twenty dollars per week. Obviously the systematic pressure by which these underpaid and highly taxed workers are compelled to surrender an appreciable portion of their meager earnings to still further enrich the profiteers must aggravate the resentment they already feel.

Disillusionment has already started and the factors making for its growth are increasingly apparent. While it would be an exaggeration to say that the slogan of the Communist Party of Canada, "Withdraw Canada from the War," has become the slogan of the masses, it is true that hundreds of thousands of workers, farmers and urban middle class people, who previously supported Mackenzie King's war policies, now recognize that the policy consistently advocated by the Communist Party is the only alternative to national disaster.

This sentiment is growing. Furthermore, objective factors are sharpening all class antagonisms in Canada and emphasizing both the question of the country's future and the utter cynicism of big capital concerning the people's weal. Popular reaction to this, combined with growing disillusionment, marks the cleavage which contradicts all the pretenses of Mackenzie King that he has achieved national unity in support of British imperialism and for an imperialist outcome of the war.

The Future of Canada and the Tasks of the Communist Party

There is no prospect or basis for another cycle of post-war expansion in Canada. Canada, though a British Dominion, is now an imperialist state with a fully developed monopoly-capitalist economy with concentration of wealth such as exists in few other countries.* Added to the acute class antagonisms stemming from the parasitic, capitalist-monopoly, character of Canada's economy there is the further fact that, because of the manner in which it developed and the precarious relationships upon which its economic prosperity depends, Canadian imperialism is acutely sensitive to world developments, particularly to the effects of the

* In 1934 only one-fifth of 1 per cent of Canada's population received incomes of $5,000 or more. Less than ten thousand had incomes of $10,000 or more but this group received, including capital increment and undistributed profits, 29 per cent of the national income; 65 per cent of all who worked for wages, salaries or commissions earned less than thirteen dollars per week.

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presently spreading and intensifying crisis of the imperialist system as a whole, and its consequences for British imperialism and British relations to the United States.

Monopoly capital achieved domination and the finance-capitalist oligarchy became supreme in Canada largely as a by-product of the Anglo-American conflict. Monopolies, closely linked with U. S. finance-capital, arose in Canada as a result of the advantage that membership in the British Empire gave Canada in "empire markets" and the related fact that she provided a very advantageous side-door through which United States capital got "under the wire" of empire tariffs and secured a valuable and growing share of those markets.*

The transformation of Canada to an imperialist state, with its monopoly capitalist base intimately related to and powerfully influenced by United States finance capital, created an acute contradiction. The actual status of Canada and her role in the world (especially her role in the sharpening conflict between British and U. S. imperialism) came into conflict with the "Dominion" status and colonial relationship assigned to her by the British North America Act, her constitution.

The statute of Westminster was the legal formula by which Canadian and British imperialists sought to evade the issue raised by this contradiction. By the show of "redefining" Canada's status as that of a "fully autonomous" member of the British "Commonwealth," British imperialism evaded a head-on collision on the issue of Canada's status while Canadian imperialism retained the empire relationships around which Canada's economy had been so very largely built. The issues raised by the deepening contradictions were side-stepped—not resolved. Canada remained wedged between the two imperialist giants economically dependent upon both. She was largely free from British interference because of the United States and more valuable to U. S. imperialism as a junior partner than as a possession precisely because of her membership in the British Empire.

The foregoing makes it clear that Canada's relationships to Britain, Eire, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa are far from being the idyllic "daughter am I in my mother's house" relationships that Canadian and British imperialist propagandists pretend. They are market relationship. The value which Canadian imperialists place upon them reflects their dollar value and very little else.

That dollar value is decisive for the capitalist class in Canada, however, which explains their present policies of "all out to win the war." Their aid to British imperialism is not motivated by filial sentiment but by their own market interests and fears. The forces of disintegration now evident in the British Empire, *ie.*, the national liberation movement in India, etc., the threat of axis conquest in Africa, the trend towards closer relations between Australasia and the U.S., establish-

* Canada exported 31 per cent of her total products, 66 per cent of it to Empire markets.

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ment of U.S. bases and the rapid growth of U.S. influence in Canada and the decisive British possessions in the West Atlantic, on the background of the acute general crisis of the imperialist system, all this threatens the economic and political structure upon which Canadian imperialism depends.

Questions as to the future of the British Empire, of the probable relations between British and American imperialism if British imperialist power survives the war are carefully pushed to the background in Canada. But, because of the frightening possibilities that they suggest, these questions will not down. The ubiquitous problem of "post-war export markets" intrudes in capitalists' speeches and editorial comment for all the world as though coming events are already casting "their shadows before."

It is evident, and tacitly acknowledged by some capitalist spokesmen that, regardless of which belligerent dictates the "peace" treaty, the people of Canada will be heavy losers by the war, with a national crisis impending. This is becoming increasingly clear to the masses as they get a deeper insight into the real meaning of the Canada-United States "Defense" Treaty and the destroyers-for-bases deal.

Elements making for a "political" crisis are developing in Canada. Involvement in the imperialist war and the accompanying reckless policies of the capitalist class aggravate all the contradictions of capitalism and the objective factors are making towards a revolutionary situation.

The Communist Party offers no blueprint to the Canadian workers, however. It is the task of our Party to "awaken the revolutionary consciousness and the revolutionary determination of the proletariat, to help it pass to revolutionary actions and to create the organizations suitable for the revolutionary situation, for work in this direction." (V. I. Lenin, *Cited place,* p. 177.)

We do not speculate upon the exact line of development, nor as to the exact shape of things in Canada when this war ends. On the contrary, we emphasize that such things will be determined very largely by the strength of the working class. We condemn in the sharpest possible terms the demagogy by which the leaders of the C.C.F. delude their followers. By artfully cultivating the idea that "planning" (under capitalism) is synonomus with socialism or is a step towards socialism, by repeated assurances that Churchill is a devoted champion of the people and that he "believes that . . . planning must be continued for the common good after the present struggle ceases,"* by characterizing the present state of affairs in Britain as "War Socialism" and by continuous suggestion that British victory will ensure "a new world order," the leaders of the C.C.F. strive to create the illusion that the British and Canadian imperialists are fighting for socialism! By such deliberate distortion of truth they distract the attention of the workers from the stark reali-

* M. J. Coldwell, House of Commons, July 31, 1940. *House of Commons Debates,* p. 2341.

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ties of the imperialist war and capitalist policies and seek to blind them to the tremendous and challenging possibilities that the war opens up to the working class and to the masses of the people.

The studied deception of their attitude is evident. It is clear that if imperialism remains dominant in the greater part of the world at the end of this holocaust, then all the terrible sufferings and sacrifice imposed upon the people because of it will have but marked a blood-stained page of history—a step towards still another war. Under such conditions "peace" would be no more than an armistice to enable the new imperialist rivals to prepare for still another bloody effort to divide the world anew.

The Communist Party of Canada warns the working class that the only possibility of lasting peace and secure prosperity for the masses of the people lies in the establishment of socialism, and that the end of capitalism, ultimately inevitable though it is, will only be achieved by a united, organized and determined working class leading the great mass of laboring, farming and professional people.

The immediate tasks with which the Communist Party of Canada is grappling are the elementary but key mass activities that will give expression to the aspirations of the working class, to fight against the heartless profiteering, against the lies and deception of the Government-controlled propaganda, against the callous sacrifice of living standards and of workers' and farmers' interests in favor of big capital; to defeat chauvinist propaganda among the masses and intensify their hatred of the war. The first task of all, challenging the class-conscious workers in all parts of Canada, is that of taking the lead in struggles against miserable wages and rising living costs and against Government efforts to suppress the right of trade union action. The Communist Party of Canada sets itself the task of aiding the workers in every such struggle, to extend and strengthen all forms of anti-war activity; to aid the development of mass struggles against the Canadian bourgeoisie and its imperialist war policies; to lay bare the widening gulf between the interests of the masses and the narrow, selfish greed of the capitalist class; to free the masses from the enervating influence of counter-revolutionary Social-Democracy, and show that the path opened by the glorious people of the U.S.S.R. is the path that the people of Canada must take if lasting and stable peace is to be achieved.

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WHO SHOULD BE ACCUSED IN FRANCE?

BY V. J. JEROME

OF ALL the hoaxes in history none has surpassed the current hoax of the "Fifth Column."

Early in the Spanish struggle the rebel General Emilio Mola boasted in a radio broadcast that in addition to the four columns of troops on which he was counting for the assault upon Madrid there was a clandestine column within the city ready to join the invaders the moment they penetrated the capital. The bourgeois statesmen and newspapers in all lands played down the operations of that fascist-Trotskyite phalanx which was doing the destructive work of world imperialism within the gates of People's Front Spain. Today, these very statesmen and newspapers, playing on the general anti-fascist sentiment, cynically hurl the epithet "Fifth Columnist" at every opponent of the war-makers, at everyone who speaks out against the people's betrayers.

In this country, as everywhere, the prototypes of those forces that undermined the French People's Front, preventing fulfillment of its domestic and foreign policies and thus opening the gates to fascism, brazenly charge that the Popular Front gains debilitated France. They paint the People's Front—against whom the Fifth Column came into being—as the Fifth Column!

The fascist-minded war-makers of America find the workers, and the common people generally, resisting onslaughts upon their living standards, their rights and their liberties. Fearful of the impact here of the French Popular Front attainments, capital's spokesmen and servitors seize upon the debacle of France to slander the People's Front, in order to facilitate their attacks upon the hard-won gains of America's laboring people. They attempt to shift the guilt from the Two Hundred Families, their Fifth Column governments and generals, and their Social-Democratic adjutants, to the Communists, welding force of the People's Front—here as there.

* * *

Against this background, there has appeared an exposé of French government and military leaders, by an eye witness of the political storms in France during the 'thirties.

*J'Accuse** opens the curtain upon traitors within the highest ministerial and military circles of France.

* Andre Simone, *J'Accuse: The Men Who Betrayed France,* Dial Press, Inc., New York, 354 pp. $2.50.

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Beginning with Hitler's accession to power, in January, 1933, and the formation, one day after, of the first Daladier ministry, the ruling figures of the republic pass before us in grim processional as road-pavers of the fascist Pétain regime.

"France was not beaten by Hitler. It was destroyed from within by a Fifth Column with the most powerful connections in the Government, big business, the State Administration and the Army." (P. 353.)

The author shows up the perfidy of such reactionary leaders as Flandin, Weygand, Laval, Daladier, Chautemps, Bonnet and Pétain. He exposes the treacherous role of the Two Hundred Families of industrialists and bankers, of the fifteen regents of the Bank of France. He lays bare the rottenness of their controlled regimes and reveals that the Army General Staff was honeycombed with fascists.

The book shows that from the outset of the Nazi regime, France's ruling circles manifested "appeasement" tendencies, of which Hitler took full advantage. Thus, the original draft of the abortive Four-Power Pact, signed by France, England, Germany and Italy in June, 1933, "already indicated the appeasement trend." Likewise, upon Germany's withdrawal from the Geneva Disarmament Conference, in October, 1933, the League of Nations sub-committee, after much procrastination, rendered a milk-and-water retort. The Nazi regime realized it had nothing to fear from France and England:

"For the first time Hitler had tested the will to resistance of the Western democracies—and had found it flabby, overblown, exaggerated." (P. 55.)

In November of that year, Hitler guaranteed, in an interview with Count de Brinon, Daladier's political agent, that with the Saar issue settled, "there will be absolutely nothing which can estrange France and Germany." When that message was promptly published in *Le Matin*, "Daladier had made himself the guarantor of Hitler's sincerity. . . . With the publication of this interview the Fifth Column in France made its initial bow." (P. 60.)

J'Accuse shows "appeasement" elements operating against the republic's interests during the Popular Front period. The French "non-intervention" policy in regard to Spain is trenchantly criticized and its dire consequences for France are grimly pointed out. The narrative then leads to the disastrous Munich betrayal, and to its climax, the present war.

The book abounds in factual material which indicts the fascist betrayers of the French people. The class-conscious reader will find in it useful data for overcoming the arguments of our native apologists of reaction calculated to shift the guilt of national betrayal from the Fifth Column in high places to the people.

* * *

The value of any such exposé consists, of course, in the clarity it brings for drawing the true lessons of "appeasement." It has thus to explain the factors that chained France to Britain's foreign policy; to point out what motivated the

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forces that condoned and abetted successive invasions of China, Ethiopia, Spain, and Czechoslovakia; to reveal the forces that struggled for the security and integrity of the French people; to give a clear-cut, historic interpretation of the policy climaxed at Munich; to show the relationship of Munichism to the present war.

J'Accuse has value as an account of the long and fatal series of "appeasement" moves by France's leading statesmen and army heads, who thus stand pilloried as the real Fifth Columnists, the betrayers of the republic.

J'Accuse, furthermore, shows that the decisive sections of the French bourgeoisie pursued an anti-democratic policy in regard to the French people in line with their aim of stamping out all democracy throughout Europe. They feared a defeat for Hitler more than his victory. As regards the regents of the Bank of France, the real rulers of the country, "national interests mattered to them only so long as their own private interests were thereby furthered." (P. 77.) They therefore betrayed the national interests of France for their predatory class interests.

The book definitely takes the position that the right course for France would have been to maintain and strengthen the Franco-Czecho-Soviet alliance as well as friendship with republican Spain, as a counterweight against aggression by the fascist states. It shows how Pétain, in his fear of communism, was "one of the most fervent advocates of *rapprochement* with Hitler, one of the strongest adversaries of the French-British Alliance, and of course an implacable foe of Soviet Russia." It exposes Laval's perfidy in signing the pact with the U.S.S.R. with the intention of undermining it even before its ratification. The Foreign Minister, as the Paris edition of the *New York Herald-Tribune* stated shortly afterwards, was prepared to annul the Franco-Soviet Pact "for an agreement whereby the Hitler regime would guarantee France's Eastern frontier in exchange for complete freedom of action in the Memel region and in the Ukraine." (Pp. 130-31.)

Here, as in a few other passages, the author indicates that French reactionaries approved and were bent upon a policy of clearing the Eastward path Hitler had charted for himself in *Mein Kampf*.

Yet, in terms of emphasis, *J'Accuse* passes very lightly over the fact that is fundamental to any serious discussion of Munichism, namely, that all of the moves in the foreign policy which went under the pacifistic name of "appeasement" were aimed toward the destruction of the Soviet Union.

We have the following as perhaps the most definitive characterization in the book of "appeasement":

"The policy of appeasement was not dictated by sentimentality. It was not the result of a state of mind which abhorred war so profoundly that any sacrifice seemed preferable to it. No, this policy flowed from a purely political conception which has been aptly expressed by the French fascist paper *Combat*: 'The Right-wing parties had the impression that in the event of war not only would the disaster be immense,

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not only was a defeat or a devastation of France possible, but more than that a defeat of Germany would mean the crumbling of the authoritarian systems which constitute the principal rampart against communism and perhaps the Bolshevization of Europe.'" (P. 302.)

It is, of course, true that the French bourgeoisie feared a possible defeat in a war with Germany as it feared also the crumbling of the Nazi gendarme against Bolshevism. But to leave the analysis on this basis is to explain Munichism essentially as a fear-policy, not as collusion in aggression; as appeasement, not as "appeasement."

In a basic respect, therefore, *J'Accuse* does not adequately present the essence of Anglo-French "appeasement," in that it fails to set forth in any clear-cut manner its *imperialist, anti-Soviet basis,* its designs for promoting a counter-revolutionary war of aggression against the Soviet Union.

Without this basic analysis, the explanation of such developments as, for example, the Four-Power Pact of mid-1933 falls short of explaining. The principals—England, France, Germany, Italy—are presented; Ramsay MacDonald goes to Rome, Daladier converses with him en route; Herriot fumes; people bustle; statesmen, lawyers, jurists are in a tangle. Only one thing is missing: the purpose of it all. The sole reference to the main objective of this Four-Power gangster plot is the stray remark: "It ignored the Soviet Union." (P. 52.) The author does not indicate that this ganging-up of European imperialist powers was for organized attack upon the Soviet Union; he merely notes that they did not consult her about the arrangements!

What were the factors in the Four-Power Pact? While holding on to the Versailles advantages, England was planning partially to strengthen Germany, for the two-fold purpose of weakening French hegemony on the continent and of spurring Hitler to advance eastward.

Thus, MacDonald, in collusion with Mussolini, jockeyed France into position within the Four-Power Pact. England aimed at making France increasingly dependent upon Downing Street's foreign policy. She could do this by rearming Germany, while at the same time "guaranteeing" France that Hitler would not march westward—that is, provided France leagued herself with Britain, Germany, and Italy, which meant giving up her existing alliances, her girdle of strength. This Four-Power Pact for "peace in the West" would back up Hitler's move against the Soviet Ukraine (for the sake of which he would be allowed to seize the Polish Corridor), ready, of course, to "take over the works" at the proper juncture. The Pact would, further, facilitate Japan's advance against the Soviets and support her against the United States. This is the significance of MacDonald's statement to the press on March 21, 1933, that, "these were the four Powers which, if the worst were to come, would have to bear the brunt of the work."

The continuous drive toward an all-European imperialist front against the Soviet Union was the essential point, not only of the

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Four-Power Pact, which died aborning, but, regardless of realignments and variations, of the whole course of the "appeasement" foreign policy which culminated in the second imperialist war and its fatal consequences for an entire series of nations.

Not presenting in relief this basic explanation, *J'Accuse* fails to bring home effectively the lesson that the defense of French national integrity demanded the spiking of the anti-Soviet front, the full support of the Soviet peace policy, as the basis for effective concerted action against aggression. An array of data on France's betrayal by those in high office, unless such "appeasement" is fully exposed as the organized policy of the Western "democracies" for directing Hitler's course against Soviet borders, may well be turned to account by the "anti-appeasement" war-makers today.

* * *

This shortcoming in the evaluation of "appeasement" leads of course to an inadequate presentation of the "appeasing" forces. Thus, so major a factor for "appeasement" as Social-Democracy is, as such, not brought into the analysis.

There are present, to be sure, Leon Blum and, to a much lesser extent, Paul Faure. Their acts, however, are not shown as arising from the policy of Social-Democracy, but rather from the accidentality of their individual make-up.

Of course, this book does not attempt the scope of political disquisition or exhaustive historical analysis. Essentially a job of reporting, *J'Accuse* presents its thesis in a light and cursive manner, with deft pen-sketches of its dramatis personae, unfolding the political narrative around a succession of leading figures.

The discussion of "non-intervention" thus centers around the personality of Blum, whose actions are depicted—in what is by far the best executed section of the book—as betrayal of People's Front Spain, with the consequent weakening of France as the fascist cordon tightened about her.

Before Blum's role is unfolded, however, we are given a biographic sketch in which the young Leon, scion of a wealthy merchant family, early showed proclivities for the fine arts and the humanities. A sensitive plant, a music critic, a first-nighter at theaters, a literary commentator, with youthful tendencies toward socialism, he surprised his relatives and friends when he entered the political arena. This psychological portrait shows a man compounded of dual and conflicting attributes, an aesthete with socialistic aspirations, a personality likely to hesitate in moments calling for decisive action.

We are told that Blum's strength in political relationships lay in his avoidance of collisions—the penchant for compromise, the "strategy of synthesis."

"This tendency to compromise is the most striking feature of Blum's character. Perhaps it arises from the synthesis he had to make between the predilections of his youth and his adult political activity. There always remained a gulf between his private tastes and his public responsibilities." (P. 172.)

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Accordingly, we are given a "human nature" basis for Blum's policy. Thus, after analyzing the meaning for France of a Loyalist defeat, after pointing out the strength and readiness of the French Popular Front forces to back up government aid to Spain, and after demonstrating that "it was impossible for Blum to invent a foreign policy which would satisfy both the Right and the Left," the author states:

"Moreover, Blum, striving for national unity on the Spanish issue, was chasing a phantom. Meanwhile, he forgot the solid reality of the Popular Front. He leaped for the shadow and forgot the substance." (P. 189.)

What shadow did Blum leap for? And what forgetting was he guilty of? No reference is made to the fact that Social-Democracy as such —in France and internationally— made the defeat of the national-revolutionary struggle of the Spanish people its conscious policy, since a victory of the Spanish people would have strengthened tremendously the French Popular Front and the unity from below of Socialists with Communists. No reference is made to the fact that in France, as in England, Sweden, Belgium and the United States, Social-Democratic prototypes of Leon Blum and Paul Faure, "hard-boiled" men who had never reviewed music or analyzed literature, all carried out in their respective countries the traitorous policy of the Second International.

There is nothing in the book to indicate that the "strategy of synthesis" was not a mere "feature of Blum's character" but a feature of Social-Democratic policy, for which he was chief exponent in France. There is nothing in the book to show that Premier Blum's proclamation of a "breathing-spell" for the monopolists early in 1937 and his surrender of vital Popular Front gains were *Social-Democracy's* "strategy of synthesis" with the Two Hundred Families—its domestic "appeasement." There is nothing in the book to show that Blum's compromising with the Right-winger, Paul Faure, was not a personal act—but the uniting of the Social-Democratic forces for a common program of Munichism—the "Socialist" author of "non-intervention" with the General Secretary of the Socialist Party, "who in foreign policy essentially shared the views of Laval, Flandin and Bonnet." (P. 172.)

Failure to explain Social-Democracy's "appeasement" role is a serious shortcoming in this exposé of betrayal—the outcome of attempting to show the movement of history in terms of individual behavior without adequate basis upon social forces.

In addition, the book contains certain isolated facts on the role of Blum which fail to give a complete picture, hence distorting by omission.

Thus, Blum is quoted at some length (page 230) in a plea to a group of Rightist deputies, following Hitler's seizure of Austria, in March, 1938, to join the government together with the Communists:

"In case of war you are going to mobilize the Communists just like anybody else. And, after all,

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the Communists represent 1,500,000 laborers, farmers and small tradesmen. You have no right to expel them. You will need them when you want to speed up production of armaments. You will need their help just as you will need the help of the C.G.T. . . . What are you afraid of? Do you fear that they will weigh heavily on foreign policy? Remember then that as head of the Government I preserved my entire independence on the Spanish issue. . . ."

From this passage, notwithstanding the assurance that he was prepared to do further for reaction what he had done for it in regard to Spain, one may be left with the impression that Blum was a defender of the Communist Party. Nowhere is this impression contradicted. Yet how different Blum's cited address to the deputies would appear in the context of the full facts. When, on the day of the Austrian invasion (March 11), Blum announced his intention to form a government of a national character around the People's Front, the Communist Party declared that it would agree in principle to "a rallying of all republican forces of the country with a view to *realizing the program demanded by the electorate*," *i.e.*, if the government hitherto supported by the People's Front would become in a full sense a People's Front Government. Blum felt impelled by the challenge of this declaration and by the pressure of his own party rank and file to voice the demand for including Communists in the government. It was part of his calculation, no doubt, that thereby he would tie the hands of the Communist Party. For, neither he nor the Administrative Council of his party spoke out in favor of a government that would carry out the program of the Popular Front. On the contrary, as we saw, he assured the Rightist deputies that they had nothing to fear: he was still the Blum who on the Spanish issue had preserved his entire independence—*of the People's Front!* We know, further, that Blum put up no real struggle in the face of objection by the Rightists and in the end joined in eliminating Communist participation.

In reference to the outlawing of the Communist Party (p. 322), there is no recording of the fact that the notorious provocations of Blum and his organ, *Le Populaire*, set the pace for Daladier to suppress *l'Humanité* and the Communist Party. (Have we forgotten Blum's public rejoicing at the expulsion of the Communist deputies?)*

Again, in the discussion of the approach of war, we come upon the statement:

"Inside France confusion grew by leaps and bounds. The French So-

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*The *New York Times* of October 17, 1939, thus commented on Blum's proposal for the prompt convocation of the Chamber of Deputies: "Mr. Blum said that it would have been a danger to the state to permit Parliament to meet while Communists were present to speak against the war and insult the men in the trenches, but added that now that the Communists had been expelled and arrested, the session could be held to strengthen understanding among all parties."

*Identical in essence is the statement of Paul Faure, in a dispatch from Paris to the *New Leader* of May 18, 1940, in regard to the suppression of the Communist Party: "Once more, it justifies French policy and the measures taken against a party of treachery, at the moment when the destiny of France, together with that of Britain, and all hopes of democracy and freedom, are in balance."

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cialist convention* revealed a deep split in the Party. . . . The united front between the two parties was severed." (P. 306.)

This passage, not elaborated, leaves unanswered basic questions in regard to the proletarian united front of the Communist and Socialist parties, an integral part of recent French history. Who did the severing? Over what issues? Through whose guilt? Was the will of the rank and file consulted?

Earlier in the book we are shown that the offer for joint action came, repeatedly, from the Communists. "The French Socialist leaders accepted this new alliance with the Communists only reluctantly and with many misgivings." No comment is made, however, on the basis for the misgivings, whether or not they expressed the attitude of the membership. We are not told subsequently that the Socialist Party leadership, dreading the prospect of a politically unified class-conscious proletariat, at first blocked and then sabotaged the united front at every stage; that it prevented by various ruses the closer contact from below that the rank and file of both parties desired, hindered meetings of the United Front Coordinating Committee, magnified every existing difficulty and deliberately created new ones, sowed dissension, threw up barriers to a solid alliance between the workers and the middle classes, and worked systematically for the liquidation of the united front.

The book accordingly ignores the significance of the severance of the united front—the open capitulation of French Social-Democracy to reaction and "appeasement," to the "peace at any price" camp of Daladier, Bonnet, and Co. For, much more significant than the split in the Socialist Party at the Nantes Congress was the "reconciliation," the "synthesis" between the Blum and Faure forces. It was this congress which heard keynoted the "independence" of the Socialist Party—a cynical euphemism for renunciation both of the Popular Front and united proletarian action with the Communists: an "independence" which could—and did—mean only increasing dependence on the bourgeoisie. It was this congress which prohibited members of the Socialist Party from belonging to the Friends of the Soviet Union, the People's Aid, the Peace and Liberty movement, and other Popular Front organizations. A short while before, the National Council of the Socialist Party had rejected the Communist Party's proposal for common action against the sixty-hour work-week and all of Daladier's decree laws directed at the gains of the Popular Front.

Surely so keen an observer as the author of *J'Accuse* appears to be should have noted Blum's basic pursuit of the policy of Daladier which the "Socialist" leader registered so memorably after the Munich betrayal, "Now we can sleep easily." Writing with knowledge from behind the scenes, M. Simone should have given the facts to show up Leon Blum—along with Paul Faure—not as an inept, yielding individual, whose "basic timidity betrayed him," but as the conscious "Socialist" component of

* Held in Nantes, in May, 1939.

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the traitorous Fifth Column, without whose aid reaction could not expect to disintegrate the People's Front and herd the nation into an imperialist war.*

* * *

As a consequence of its inadequate analysis of "appeasement," the book does not bring out the imperialist character of the present war. The author does not point out that when the English and French "appeasers" declared war on Germany in September, 1939, they resorted with greater desperateness to prosecute their basic policy—anti-Sovietism. We do not learn, what must have been apparent to "behind the scenes" observers that the war was declared because Hitler deemed it impolitic to pursue his *Drang nach Osten* and allied imperialism hoped to bring him by force of arms to redirect his course eastward.

The following is perhaps the most comprehensive statement we get on the war:

"France went into the war against terrific odds. Laval had wrecked collective security. Blum's non-intervention policy had split the forces capable and willing to resist a Hitler aggression. Daladier and Bonnet had sold one ally, Czechoslovakia, down the river. They had demolished the mutual-assistance treaty with Soviet Russia. At Munich, the war was almost lost for France. The situation could have been reversed only if the popular forces of France had been convinced that there would be no attempts to destroy the social legislation of the Popular Front; that the French Government genuinely desired to collaborate with all the anti-fascist governments." (P. 343.)

This account is incontestably true. It points to the apathy with which the people met the summons to the "guerre sacrée." The people were not "sold" on the war.

"Those who believed it necessary to sacrifice a faithful ally like Czechoslovakia—one small country, many small countries, in order to save peace—asked now: 'Why should we fight for Poland?' Others who foresaw that this sacrifice of small and friendly nations would lead to war, and whose worst predictions were now realized wondered: 'Why didn't we fight for Czechoslovakia?' . . . It was with gloom in their hearts that Frenchmen went to war. At best people were resigned to suffering its consequences. They were not convinced that it was necessary to wage it." (Pp. 316-17.)

Lacking was the response of the people to the Government's slogan: "Unity is the crying need of the hour."

"How could there have been

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* A fact of the utmost importance for understanding the role and political character of the "Socialist" Blum has leaked out from sources within the late Benes government of Czechoslovakia. In September, 1937, Blum was commissioned to represent the French Government at the funeral services of Masaryk, the first president of the Czechoslovak republic. During his stay, Blum conferred with President Benes. The latter expressed misgivings over the course of events in Spain, indicating that the fate of his country hinged upon the outcome of the Spanish struggle. He asked Blum what France intended to do to assure the victory of the Loyalists in Spain and thereby strengthen the position of France's ally, Czechoslovakia. The essence of the conversation follows:

Blum: As to Spain, the Government of France sees as the only possible policy—compromise.

Benes: Compromise! What kind of compromise?

Blum: A Bourbon on the Spanish throne. The French Government cannot adopt any other position; for it must work in the closest conjunction with the English Government. And the English Government is bent on having a Bourbon. (!)

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unity? Fight for democracy? The slogan lost its attractiveness for one part of the populace when democracy not so long ago was linked with betrayal and dishonor. Fight against Hitlerism? The watchword was not attractive to another portion for whom Hitler was the bulwark against Bolshevism. The enemy, they thought, was not across the Rhine." (P. 317.)

These observations yield an insight into the popular state of mind in regard to the war which the Chamberlain-Daladier camp had launched.

Correct in what it actually says, *J'Accuse*, none the less, falls short of interpreting the war as imperialistic. The war is presented as a fatal consequence of the Munich policy. We are shown the popular misconfidence and the absence of mass war hysteria. But the author unfortunately neglects to show that these feelings on the part of the people were an indictment of the imperialist war. Through this neglect, the mistrust which the people are shown to have borne toward the war-government, though justified in terms of the antecedent Munichism, could be interpreted—perhaps contrary to the author's intent—as a source of aid to the betrayers of France. "When France entered the war, she was split from top to bottom. She was divided because of the war itself, and because of the circumstances leading up to it." (P. 316.) The press still reflected "appeasement" trends. "Only two of the dailies published in Paris during the war were outspokenly anti-Munich: *L'Epogue* and *L'Ordre*." (P. 348.) (A comment on this anti-Munichism is supplied by Ilya Ehrenbourg, who reminds us in *New Masses* for November 12: "The newspaper *Epogue* suggested that the uncomplimentary reference to kings be eliminated from the song of the French Revolution, 'Chant de depart,' because the British and Norwegian kings were allies.")

By the entire context and atmosphere of the final chapter, the bellicists, who favored a thorough prosecution of the war, stand out as the anti-appeasers: to "see it through" meant to right the wrong of Munich. In this sense we are told that the intervention of Faure and Laval "had prevented the entry of Blum as Vice Premier and Herriot as Foreign Minister in the Daladier Cabinet when it was reshuffled." In this sense, too, Germany's peace offer of October, 1939, which the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of France urged the French Government to consider in the interests of world peace, is introduced in a manner that would connect such urging with the work of Fifth Columnism. (P. 324.)

Of the actual opposition of the people to the war—not merely their apathy or divided feelings—and of the role of the Communists in championing that opposition, we get no inkling. There is no instancing of non-Fifth Columnist, anti-imperialist opposition to the war. We do not wish to cast reflection on the keenness of M. Simone's observation; yet there comes to our mind, as one of many such reports in the past year, the incident recorded by Ilya Ehrenbourg, in the cited article:

"An echelon of Communists stood

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waiting at the Noisy station; they were being taken to a concentration camp. 'Deserters,' was the information solemnly passed on to the crowd. The prisoners began to sing, first the *Internationale*, then the *Marseillaise*. Immediately, clenched fists were raised on the platform. It was soldiers and workers saluting their comrades."

By failing to show up the predatory character of the war, by failing to give a clear concept of anti-Munichism, and by minimizing the forces in struggle against the perpetrators and abettors of the Munich betrayal—the French imperialists and their Social-Democratic aides—*J'Accuse*, despite its positive aspects exemplified in the discussion on "non-intervention," fails to become a sharp weapon against imperialist crime and demagogy. It is the imperialists who claim to repudiate "appeasement" and Munich, who profess to be contrite, to oust some of their Chamberlains from office and who declare: Now let us make amends for our trust in Hitler's word! Now let us smash Hitlerism! This "anti-Munichism" has now become the main shibboleth of the imperialist bandits and their Social-Democratic accomplices.

* * *

Finally, while the major French politicians and political groupings are discussed in the narrative of events, there is only the most incidental and tangential mention of the role of Communist leaders and the Communist Party. Nowhere in this book is there a positive or detailed elaboration of the struggle of the Communist Party for the interests of the French people and against the traitors. It is fair to say that the role of the Communist Party is not brought out in this survey of France's crucial years in which that Party represented a major factor.

Thus, the author is guilty of a serious omission in the factual account of Daladier's move for obtaining plenary powers immediately after Munich:

"He did not dare to put the Munich Pact to a direct vote. Many deputies would not have risked an open stand on it. So the Chamber voted on a motion for adjournment which implied agreement. Only 75 out of 618 Deputies saved the honor of France." (P. 281.)

Who were these 75 Deputies? Is it a coincidence to be glossed over or an organic part of the fact itself that 73 of the 75 Deputies "who saved the honor of France" were Communists? And does *J'Accuse* accuse in omitting the fact that only one solitary Socialist voted with the Communists?

An entire book is devoted to exposing the forces that betrayed the honor of France. "Appeasers," Fifth Columnists are named and branded. But who were the forces against "appeasement"? Who spoke out consistently and valiantly the will of the French people for social security and national integrity?

The author does not include the Comunists in the category of the Fifth Column during the war, as is the vogue among the actual Fifth Columnists and their scribes. He tells us that the Communist Party was outlawed. But what was the position in regard to the war of this

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third strongest party of France, with 73 representatives in the Chamber of Deputies, and with a daily circulation of well-nigh 400,000 for its central organ before it was suppressed? What of the expulsion of the Communist Deputies and their railroading to prison by a military tribunal? What of the wholesale jailing and torturing of Communists and their sympathizers? What of the smashing of trade unions and the imprisonment of their militant leaders? The author neither records these facts nor states his judgment of them.

Surely the evidence is at hand and the actions were prominent, even were M. Simone not personally familiar with the events, that the Communists were the vanguard and the welding force of the struggle against the betrayers, the "appeasers," and the war-perpetrators. In this respect M. Simone does not "tell all' that an eyewitness was bound to know.

The world is not over for France and its people. The lessons of the past must be mastered. The people of France, and of the world, must know who betrayed and who fought the betrayers, whom to repudiate as misleaders and whom to follow in the liberation struggle already begun.

Truly to deserve the title *J'Accuse*, the book should, in the tradition of Zola, really have accused.

The world has heard an accusation deserving of the name in the Manifesto of the Communist Party of France, *We Accuse*,* published in June of this year.

"We accuse the French bourgeoisie of having brought on the present war by enslaving the German people through the monstrous provisions of the Versailles Treaty, that imperialist endorsement of an imperialist war. . . .

"We accuse the Daladier-Bonnet gang . . . of having prepared the present war, of having provoked the misfortunes which are now raining down on our country, by their policy aimed at driving Germany into war against the Soviet Union. . . .

"We accuse Daladier, Bonnet, Blum and Frossard of attempting to escape the terrible responsibility for their crimes, to cover up their incapacity and their treason by persecuting and contemptibly slandering the Communists, whose ardent and courageous voice never ceased to proclaim the truth, whose policy is in entire conformity with the present and future interests of our people and would have saved our country from war and invasion. . . .

"It is necessary, above all, to take the measures to re-establish the rights of the people. . . .

"The people of France must impose its will, must take its fate into its own hands."

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* See Andre Marty, "*Who Betrayed France?*, p. 19, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

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THE PEOPLE CAN SAVE THEMSELVES ONLY BY THEIR OWN ACTION

(Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain)

IN the midst of the barbarism and the horrors of this war, the Communist Party calls upon all workers and the widest sections of the people to rally and unite in defense of their interests, and for the establishment of a People's Government in order to win their way out of the present bloodstained chaos.

A Call to Action

The Coalition Government can give no leadership to the people. Its interests are the class interests of the wealthy enemies of the people.

The people can save themselves only by their own action.

Already representatives of the working people from all over the country have united to call a great people's convention in order to lead the way to the removal of the present Government, and the establishment of a People's Government.

The example of the London workers, in fighting for their urgent needs and air raid protection in face of the resistance of the Government, has shown that the only way forward lies through the initiative of the people themselves.

The call for the people's convention and the example of the London workers have given inspiration to the working people throughout the country. The idea of the people taking independent initiative and action in their own interests is taking root in the minds of the widest masses. Unity in action of all the working people, of the millions of workers in the factories, mines and mills, of the trade unionists and co-operators, of the tenants, technical employees and professional people, must now be the watchword.

In all the blackness of the present events the awakening of the people is the hope of the future.

Never has the bankruptcy of the ruling class been so utterly demonstrated. Never has the gulf between rulers and ruled been so mercilessly exposed.

The intensified air war has let loose all the horrors of war upon the masses of the people. Homes are destroyed. Families are uprooted. The refusal of protection has cost the lives of thousands. There is neglect of the most elementary needs, because class interests stand first.

The blows of the war, the economic burdens and privations fall with

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ever greater hardships on the people. The Purchase Tax will raise further the price of the necessities of life. The economic chaos and loss of export markets are leading to a critical situation in a whole series of industries, especially coal, textiles, clothing and distribution. Mass unemployment of a new type develops and is not overcome by the extension of the war industry. Worsened health, consequent on overwork and lowered standards, prepares the way for disease epidemics under the conditions of the blackout, and insanitary air-raid shelter arrangements. Food and fuel difficulties increase with the onset of winter.

The war extends to world war. The Anglo-American alliance fights the German-Italian-Japanese alliance for world domination.

The war-making governments have nothing to offer the people but the prospect of indefinitely prolonged war, destruction, disease and famine, leading to an imperialist peace of enslavement, renewed economic crisis and the seeds of new war. On both sides the perspective of the war is now officially spoken of in terms of a number of years.

Where Will This Lead?

On all sides the questions are asked: "How long must this go on?" "Where is it leading?" "Where will it end?"

The Communist Party answers: It will go on as long as the people tolerate it, as long as we tolerate this ruling gang to sacrifice the interests of the people to their profits and power and imperialist war aims.

These miseries can be ended as soon as the people take their fate into their own hands.

In contrast to the barbarity and chaos of the capitalist world stands the socialist world, where the two hundred million people of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics advance in peace, security, prosperity and freedom. The Russian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, drew themselves out of the last war and advanced to socialism. Today new nations are freely joining the U.S.S.R. and finding liberation and peace in socialism. With ever-increased strength and preparedness the people of the Soviet Union stand ready for all eventualities, to defend the heritage of socialism against any attack of imperialism.

The people of Western Europe can also win peace and freedom. But for this they must organize the struggle against their own rulers.

The Labor Party Has Failed the People

To whom shall the people look for leadership? The Labor Party, in which millions in the past placed their hope to lead to socialism, has failed the people. The Labor Ministers in the Government, the Bevins, Attlees and Morrisons, are the main support of the rule of reaction, of the Churchills, Chamberlains and Andersons, of the Tory machine and the war profiteers. They are united with the Tories on every issue of policy.

Under their leadership the local

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machinery of the Labor movement has been paralyzed, put out of action, or distorted to the service of capitalism and the war machine. The air war has exposed their complete abandonment of the interests of the people. They bear the responsibility for the refusal of the bomb-proof shelters which the Communist Party demanded, and which could have saved the lives of those now dead. They direct their attack against the militant workers. They seek to draw the Labor organizations into a type of Labor Front, in which the state, the employers and the official Labor representatives act as a single machine, while the right to strike and all independent working class activity is prohibited. Their path leads to fascism, to the same type of regime as the Nazi regime in Germany.

The Communist Party Leads the Way

This betrayal by the Labor Party leadership will never kill the working class struggle. Millions of Labor men and women, of trade unionists and industrial workers are seeking the way forward. The opposition within the Labor movement to the policy of betrayal is making itself felt, both in official conferences and in spontaneous movements, despite all threats and intimidation. The mass ferment in the factories is rising, and has shown itself in innumerable minor actions and lightning strikes, the prelude to greater struggles.

Against the coalition of the Government and of the dominant Labor and trade union leadership, the Communist Party leads the fight of the working people. The air war has revealed in the sight of the widest masses the role of the Communist Party and of the organ of the people, the *Daily Worker,* in the fight for the protection of the people.

The Communist Party fights for the unity and independence of the working class movement. The Communist Party fights for all the immediate needs and interests of the people, and for the final aims of the working class movement, the aims of socialism, which can alone end the causes of the present crisis. The Communist Party is the only political party with a positive, constructive program to lead the way from the present chaos and miseries.

The present situation shows with inescapable clearness that only the leadership of the Communist Party can save the working class movement from destruction, deliver the people from endless war and complete enslavement to monopoly capital and its war machine, and lead the way to a people's peace by the victory of the working people, and to socialism as the only final solution of the present crisis.

Unite and Fight

The Communist Party calls on all workers in the factories, shops and offices, on all trade unionists, cooperators, Labor men and women, and the widest sections of the people, to unite in the present grave hour of peril and threatening catastrophe, and advance their fight for their vital needs against the Government and exploiters, who callously disregard their sufferings and grow

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rich on their blood and tears. Unite in the fight for:

Real Air-Raid Protection: the immediate construction of Haldane shelters; homes for the homeless; full immediate compensation for all victims of air raids; taking over of luxury flats and mansions;

Increase of Wages, Soldiers' Pay and Dependents' Allowances: to meet the rising cost of living;

Withdrawal of the Purchase Tax: no taxation of wages; limitation of food prices;

Emergency Employment Schemes: to absorb the unemployed at trade union rates of pay on works of social benefit and production of the necessaries of life;

Conscription of Wealth;

Restoration of Democratic Rights; withdrawal of all anti-democratic regulations; full democratic rights for the men in the armed services.

The unity of the working people in the fight needs to be built up on a scale never before equalled. A common front must be established of all elements in the organized Labor movement who stand for independent struggle for the interests of the people. The Communist Party invites the cooperation of Labor councilors, trade councils, Labor parties, trade union and cooperative organizations, local, district and national, and leading members of all these organs in the common fight. In this common front the role of the factories and shop stewards is of decisive importance.

The People's Convention

Only such a mighty common movement of the working people, going forward in the fight for every vital need, can advance to the struggle for the supreme aim of a new Government to lead the way out of the crisis. The fight for the needs of the people is a fight against the reactionary Government of the exploiters, and their "Labor" agents which stands in the way. No concessions which can be extracted from the Government, no partial gain can end the causes of the crisis and the present miseries, which lie rooted in this war and the profit-making system. The power of the ruling class must be broken. A new Government of the people must come to power.

In order to unite all sections of the people in a mighty common movement of struggle against the Government and for a new Government, representatives of the working class and democratic movement in all parts of the country have united to summon a People's Convention for January 12, 1941. The call for the People's Convention is the most important call to the working people of this country which has been issued since the beginning of the war. All agitation and organization during the coming three months need to be directed towards the central aim of rallying the widest forces for representation at the People's Convention. The preparation of the People's Convention is the first step in the rallying and organizing of the popular forces for the struggle against the Government.

The People's Convention is the expression of the challenge of the people to the ruling class.

The Communist Party participates

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actively in the broad common movement represented by the People's Convention, and gives it every support, political and organizational, in order that the People's Convention shall realize the aspirations of the working people and lead the way to a People's Government.

For a People's Government and a People's Peace

The central political aim before the working people, towards which the Communist Party directs all its endeavor, and for which the People's Convention is called, must be the defeat of the present Government and the establishment of a People's Government, representative of all sections of the united movement of the working people and based on the support of their organizations.

The program of such a People's Government must be directed to carry through decisive measures against monopoly capital (taking over of the banks and large industries); protect the interests of the people and improve their social standards and conditions; break with imperialism and imperialist aims, ending the domination of India and all subject peoples of the Empire; and to win the way to the speediest ending of the war and establishment of a people's peace.

The aim of a people's peace is the aim of a peace based on the freedom of all peoples to determine their own destiny. Such a peace is not compatible with imperialism and can only be realized by the victory of the working people in the leading imperialist countries.

For the British people such a peace requires the wiping out of all the conquests of other nations by British imperialism, and the complete liberation of the Indian people and all peoples subjected to the British Empire. The victory of the working people in a single country, Britain, will be the most powerful lever to hasten the victory of the working people in the other countries involved in the war and to create the conditions for a people's peace. The People's Government, while immediately proclaiming terms of peace and calling for peace negotiations on this basis, will take all necessary steps to organize the defense of the power of the people against all enemies, within and without.

The Communist Party, in fighting for a People's Government, regards this as the first step in the advance towards its basic aims of a complete social transformation which will finally eliminate capitalism and class divisions, and thereby destroy the causes of poverty, unemployment and war by making all the means of production the social property of the people and socially organizing production for use.

The Communist Party Calls to the People

The present situation throws the greatest responsibility on the class-conscious workers and their leadership, the Communist Party. Conscious of its responsibilities, the Communist Party launches its campaign for a People's Government and a people's peace, to arouse and unite all sections of the people in

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the struggle for their immediate needs, against the Government and for a new Government of the working people.

The Communist Party appeals to all working people for support in this campaign and for the strengthening of the Communist Party as the indispensable weapon of the fight, and the organizer of victory.

The Communist Party appeals for support for the *Daily Worker* as the organ of the broad movement of the working people, which has won and deserved the confidence and enthusiasm of the widest sections for its record of achievement and fearless voicing of the people's aims in the trials and emergencies of the present war.

The achievement of the great tasks before us will require the strengthening of all the agitation, propaganda and organization of the Communist Party, both centrally, in the districts, and in every branch and group. More than ever, every Communist Party organ and member needs to stand out as a leader of the people, whether nationally, within each district, or in every locality and factory. The entire life and activity of the Party, even to the agenda and work of the smallest group, must reflect the burning issues of the present situation, carry the Party's message to the people, and radiate the enthusiasm which springs from deep political conviction and confidence.

Now is the time when every Socialist, every class-conscious worker, every revolutionary intellectual who seeks to change the present conditions, should find their place in the Communist Party. Mass recruitment to the Party is essential in order to enable it to fulfill its obligations and to multiply many times its strength. Such mass recruitment can be achieved more than ever now, when the emergency of the present situation is felt by all and the Party stands out as the one leader of the working class fight.

The Central Committee appeals to every member of the Party and to every class-conscious worker to play his or her part in this great campaign, conscious of the glorious obligations and responsibilities which fall upon us in this supreme crisis of the British people, and with greater confidence than ever in the aims of communism, which can alone solve the problems of humanity, and in the victory of our cause.

The old order is going down in blood and tears. With high explosives the lords of monopoly capital are dynamiting the foundations of their own social order. All the present nightmare of chaos and suffering is only the outward sign of the break-up of the old order. Under the brutal blows of the war the awakening of the people is spreading. The struggle of the people is rising. The new order of socialism will end the present miseries and bring a happy future for humanity. The future belongs to the people.

Forward to the Victory of a People's Government and a People's Peace!

Forward to the Victory of Socialism!

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE BELLS TOLLS FOR HEMINGWAY

FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS. By Ernest Hemingway. Charles Scribner Sons, New York. $2.75. 472 pages.

ON JULY 18, 1936, the Spanish fascists and reactionaries rose in arms against the democratically-elected government of Spain. At once the people mobilized to defend their Popular Front government, and, though against tremendous odds, they fought so heroically that Hitler and Mussolini found it necessary to intervene more and more openly in order to save their puppet, Franco, from defeat. Seeing this, millions of anti-fascists all over the world, rallied and organized by the Communist Parties and the example of the Soviet Union, sprang to the defense of the Spanish people. But the great capitalist powers, alarmed lest Madrid become in truth the tomb of fascism and a powerful stimulus to the world-wide socialist revolution, sought desperately by red-baiting, split labor movements, embargoes, "non-intervention," to block the effective expression of this mass support.

Thus the Spanish struggle became a worldwide issue of increasing bitterness. Class-consciousness developed rapidly everywhere. Everywhere reactionaries, those who hated and feared the people, combined in support of Franco. The radio, the press, all the powerful machinery of the modern capitalist state rallied behind him. Hard-pressed in this emergency, the bourgeois governments were forced to drop their democratic mask and exhibit their real class interests by combining with fascist aggression against the interests and welfare of the masses of the people.

When Stalin said that "the liberation of Spain . . . is the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind," he gave expression to a profound conviction that swept through the peoples of country after country. There resulted, not only the formation of the International Brigades, that great milestone in the development of international working class solidarity, but also a tremendous popular outpouring of sympathy and support from every corner of the globe. Everywhere the first mark of a progressive became support of the Spanish Republic.

It was inevitable, in the rapid forming of ranks, that not all of those who represented "advanced and progressive mankind" should be activated by clear and sound devotion to the cause of the people. It was inevitable that there should

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be numerous spies, cowards, weaklings and self-seekers. Many of these people foresaw material advantages to themselves. The movement for Spain, though unable ever to force more than kind words from the ruling bourgeoisie, was nevertheless so strong that it was safe at least from any direct attack. Hence it could and did offer these hangers-on protection, salaries, royalties and applause.

But the great imperialist powers —in their several ways, by direct attack or through the aid of Social-Democracy, Fifth Columns, "appeasement," and "non-intervention" —slowly and with difficulty tightened the knot that strangled the Spanish Republic. Without mercy the Spanish people were handed over to the prisons, the torture chambers, and the firing squads of the fascist butcher.

But the issues raised by the Spanish struggle were not settled by this betrayal. They continued spreading inexorably throughout the capitalist world, unmasking the illusions of bourgeois democracy and illuminating especially the real basis of the imperialist war that was the inevitable result of the betrayal of Spain. It became necessary for the bourgeoisie to attempt to confuse and discourage the Spanish movement. Thus the great (and to some, unaccountable) activity on the part of the Dies Committee, the F.B.I., and the New York police, when three attempts were made last April to picket the French consulate on behalf of the Spanish refugees. It was necessary (at that time!) to pretend that the French Government was fighting for democracy, and this illusion would not have been aided by a widespread knowledge of the brutal treatment in France of refugees who had themselves really fought a long and heroic battle against fascism.

It became no longer so comfortable or "fashionable" to defend the cause of the Spanish people. The dubious hangers-on sought softer couches, safer and more profitable meadows. Thus the ignoble spectacle of the weaklings, the fair-weather friends, unable to face a temporary set-back to "their cause," scurrying, with undignified haste, to shelter.

Thus Ralph Bates, Louis Fischer, André Malraux, John Strachey, Granville Hicks, Vincent Sheean, Jay Allen, Malcolm Cowley, Herman Reissig, James Waterman Wise, and numerous smaller fry.

The latest recruit to this motley crew is Ernest Hemingway.

* * *

Mr. Hemingway is one of the undisputed masters of contemporary English prose, and he stands in the front rank of American novelists. He was probably the most distinguished and widely-known American to have championed the cause of the Spanish people. Furthermore, his support was not of the arm-chair variety. His knowledge of the language, country, and people; his presence in Spain as more than a correspondent, almost as an unofficial ambassador of good-will; his close relationship, during almost the entire period of the war, to the Spanish people and especially to the men of the International Brigades; his whole-hearted support through

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generous gifts of money, articles, statements, and his large personal and professional influence—all, together with his great reputation, singled him out as, for the English-speaking world, the natural literary spokesman for the Spanish people. Thus was laid on his shoulders also a heavy responsibility to write clearly and truly of them, to prove himself worthy of his epic material.

It has long been known that Hemingway was working on a novel about the Spanish war. One can imagine the uneasy premonitions of the bourgeoisie, particularly of the bourgeois press, of our literary lords and masters. *The New York Times*, for example, that traditional guardian of the purity of capitalist propaganda; *The New York Times* with its memories of William Carney, its filed and unprinted Hemingway dispatches, its whole unsavory Spanish record.

What was coming? True, Hearst (who could be relied on as a firm supporter of Franco) had carried in his *Cosmopolitan* a Spanish story by Hemingway called "Under the Ridge" and filled with defeatism and sinister Russians. Yet, after all, this might perhaps not mean much. What was coming now?

Perhaps a book that would tell the clear and shining truth about the Popular Front government, its composition, its fine record, who its supporters and enemies were and why. Perhaps a book that would cut ruthlessly and with authority through the ugly and dishonest slander about the Soviet Union and its role in Spain. Perhaps a book that would not only strip the last cloak from "non-intervention" and the "appeasers," but would also sear through the hypocrisy of those "defenders of democracy" who have "seen the errors of appeasement" and are now, forsooth, "fighting for the rights of small nations," a book that would hold Spain aloft as a sound compass in the mists and confusions of imperialist warfare.

Was all this not a danger? Was this not genuine cause for alarm?

And if it were such a book, what then? How was it to be handled? Though very far from the towering popularity and prestige of Charlie Chaplin—no novelist, however great, could attain that in a capitalist society—yet a progressive book by Hemingway would have presented something of the same problem presented by *The Great Dictator*—and would have been even more uncomfortable to the powers that be. No publisher could have refused it. No press conspiracy could successfully have muffled completely the challenging clang of such a bell.

Were they worried? Were they?

But the book they feared was not forthcoming.

The bourgeoisie, opening *The New York Times* of October 20, found a lyrical, pious, and empty review of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* by Ernest Hemingway. And breathed more easily. "It's OK, boys. Everything's under control."

* * *

What does Mr. Hemingway do with the magnificent opportunities that lay before him?

For Whom the Bell Tolls recounts the last three days in the life of its author's latest apotheosis, Robert Jordan, who serves as a *guerillero*

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behind the fascist lines north of Madrid in May of 1937. He consorts there with two bands of *partisan* fighters, has a very intense love affair with a Spanish girl, recalls in some detail his relations with several Russians, and stops worrying about himself and his reactions just long enough to blow up his bridge on scheduled time. We leave him, fatally injured, alone, and behind his gun, preparing to sell his life as dearly as possible.

It is obvious that, since Mr. Hemingway is no ordinary writer, his desertion of the Spanish people could not be just an ordinary desertion, but must rather be a subtle, clever, and highly complicated affair. Being also something of a military man, he is careful to supply for himself a luxuriance of camouflage. Indeed, many may require the assistance of the sharp eyes of Edmund Wilson (*New Republic*, Oct. 28, 1940), to penetrate this camouflage. As one turncoat welcoming another, Mr. Wilson is not fooled for a moment but perceives at once that the book is soundly reactionary and counter-revolutionary.

Formally and not too obtrusively, Hemingway is careful to cover all his tracks. Consider, for example, his treatment of the Communists. No writer would dare ignore, no writer could seriously deny the brilliant and outstanding role of the Communists in Spain. Hemingway therefore pays (page 163) a just tribute to their courage, discipline, organizational ability, and program. He speaks well, though very briefly, of two or three of the Communist commanders and even portrays one very minor character, Gomez, a captain and a Communist, as a loyal and sensible fellow. Having thus quietly erected his camouflage, Hemingway then proceeds to picture the Communists as, without exception, either fools or cynical and sinister figures.

Who was and is the best known and best beloved leader of the Spanish Communist Party? La Pasionaria, of course. Hemingway airs (and leaves hanging in the air) the irresponsible charge—Valencia gutter gossip—that in a cowardly fashion she was protecting a son of military age by keeping him in the Soviet Union. He then proceeds to picture her as a silly, gushing, and ridiculous woman, jeering at "that great face," at "that great voice." This is the way Hemingway presents to the American people the woman who worked courageously and indefatigably for her people, whom literally millions of Spaniards and more millions throughout the world loved, trusted and followed.

In dealing with Lister, Hemingway manages to libel at once the Communist Party, the People's Army, and the entire Spanish people. "In few armies since the Tartar's first invasion of the West were men executed summarily for as little reason as they were under his command," observes Mr. Hemingway. "Lister was murderous in discipline. He was a true fanatic and he had the complete Spanish lack of respect for life."

Who was the most prominent leader of the International Brigades? Of course, André Marty, one of the most widely known and revered figures of the French Communist Party and of the Communist

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International, the great organizer and guiding spirit of the International Brigades. Hemingway makes a detour, altogether unnecessary to his story, for the purpose of attacking him with the utmost violence and vituperation. This venomous caricature shows Comrade Marty as a pompous, meddling fool, a reckless and irresponsible murderer. This, we are asked to believe, was the man who was the directing genius of the International Brigades, a fighting corps which made military history and by its heroic service won the reluctant respect of its enemies and the valued love and admiration of "advanced and progressive mankind." *And* the praise of Mr. Hemingway (though not noticeably in his latest book). This, we are asked to believe, is the man who fought for discipline, organization, united and responsible command as an example for the Spanish people, who in the darkest days of the Great Retreats of May, 1938, hurried to what front lines existed and marched long kilometers beside his men, strengthening their morale by his courage and his conviction.

In these envenomed caricatures speak (but for want of sufficient literacy) Dies, Coughlin, the French fascists, Trotsky, Franco, and all the leaders and miserable, unprincipled lackeys of the blackest reaction. Their poisonous hatred of the Communists, of the International Brigades, of the cause of the Spanish people could find no more superb expression.

* * *

Franco, representing these forces, turned loose the Moors upon the Spanish people. Mr. Hemingway's heroine was, we are told, raped by them. But the girl is an idyllic and characterless figure, never treated seriously as a human being by her author-lover; and her sufferings, horrible as they are, certainly pale before the most vivid and brilliantly written passage in the entire novel, Pilar's account of the killing of a number of local fascist leaders. By inference we are told that this revolting and bloodthirsty business is an example of the early Anarchist excesses, but the inference is so unobtrusive that the picture constitutes a gross libel against the whole Spanish people—and for that purpose is quoted, to Mr. Hemingway's credit, by *Time* (Oct. 21, 1940).

Thus once again, behind a smokescreen of sound and correct references, the final and most powerful impression is libelous. The clear truth—that the fascist regime was based on oppression, cruelty, and terror, consciously and painstakingly applied—is smeared and obscured by this disproportionate emphasis.

Again, was there foreign intervention in Spain? Yes, says Mr. Hemingway. There were the Moors before-mentioned; Italian and German planes cross the sky; General Hans talks briefly of Guadalajara. But all this comes to the reader dimly and from a distance, like a perusal of last year's headlines. The real role of Germany and Italy? of England and France? Of the United States? Silence.

The Russians are, however, very immediately at hand. And what Russians! They are all very much alike, with shaved heads, bad

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teeth, and a consistently lofty and cynical attitude. A correspondent named Karkov is treated at considerable length. And here too Hemingway is careful to construct the camouflage without which the entire picture would collapse from its absurdity. Karkov says many fine and true things; some of them he even says seriously and not as if he were a cynical agent of American imperialism presiding at a Central American bandit uprising.

But Karkov, "coming from *Pravda* and in direct communication with Stalin, was at this moment one of the three most important men in Spain," and as such must be presumed to represent, in Hemingway's opinion, Soviet policy. This man, with his mistress and his several (well-selected) wives, wanders arrogantly through the novel, treating everyone (including the author-hero) with a childish and insulting condescension. It is he who ridicules La Pasionaria. It is he who ridicules, insults, and threatens to "unmask" André Marty. It is he who throughout smears the unity and blunts the issues of the Spanish struggle. It is he who jeers at the literally precise language used by the Communists and by all intelligent and experienced progressives to describe the Bukharinites, the Trotskyites, and the P.O.U.M.

" 'The P.O.U.M. was never serious. . . . [Note the past tense, as of May 1937!] . . . They should have called it the M.U.M.P.S. or the M.E.A.S.L.E.S. But no. The measles is much more dangerous. It can affect both sight and hearing. . . .'

" 'But they were in communication with the fascists, weren't they?'

" 'Who is not?'

" 'We are not.'

" 'Who knows? I hope we are not. . . .' "

To this is reduced the magnificent diplomatic and material assistance of the Soviet Union! It is for this sort of "aid" that the Spanish people poured forth their love and gratitude—as they unquestionably did, though Hemingway does not say so—to the Soviet Union!

Again we find Mr. Hemingway cooperating with Hearst and William Carney and Father Thorning in their attempts to slander and vilify the Soviet Union and the Communists.

* * *

One feels impelled to remind Mr. Hemingway that the Spanish people continued their heroic resistance for nearly two years following the close of his novel. Judging from the book alone, one would surely find this fact fantastic and incredible. All the emphasis in the book is upon disunity, sabotage and betrayal. And who could unify the people and lead such a desperate struggle?

Surely not Prieto or Miaja or the Anarchists, for whom (to do him justice) Hemingway exhibits no enthusiasm—though here too all Anarchists, with a characteristic blurring of issues, are lumped together.

Surely not the International Brigades, under the political leadership of a self-important fool and a murderer.

Surely not a party under the leadership of a gushing and naive old woman and composed of slogan-chanting children like Joaquin.

Surely not Russian generals and "agents" who complain constantly

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of the unmanageability of the Spanish people and have apparently no confidence in them.

Surely not an industrial proletariat which this book does not even credit with existence.

Surely not the peasantry, for with (as usual) a few exceptions (such as Anselmo, by far the book's finest character), the emphasis is upon a prostitute, and a few gypsies and declassed people. Not a single Spaniard—for that matter, no one at all—is represented as understanding even the most basic and elementary problems, internal and international, facing the Spanish people.

Yet the struggle did continue and with ever-increasing unity and heroism, right up to the final betrayal by Social-Democracy and imperialist "democracy." How, Mr. Hemingway? With what forces and under whose leadership?

To ask these questions of Mr. Hemingway is not to demand that he write an economic-social-political history of Spain, 1936-1939. No one has the right to demand that of any novelist. But one does have a right to ask that a novelist be a good novelist, that is, that he write clearly and truthfully of his subject. This Hemingway has not done.

Very likely he could have done so by taking his self-centered, death-worshiping hero out of Spain altogether. There are surely other forms of death that Hemingway could have approached with the same absorption in love and drink and palmistry, the same fate-ridden and doomed assemblage of characters and circumstances.

Or if his readers demanded a novel about Spain (and they did), he could have sacrificed something of the 200,000 first issue—for this would clearly be impossible (at $2.75 a copy) for a truthful book on Spain—and something of the reported $100,000 from Hollywood. He could have written a book where the facts, issues, and politics, however little or much he chose to include, would be in clear and just proportion. Such a book Mr. Hemingway owed to himself as an artist, to his readers, and to the International Brigades and the Spanish people.

But *For Whom the Bell Tolls* gives a thoroughly distorted picture of Spain during her struggle for democracy and national independence and does violence to all the important lessons taught, at such bitter cost, by that great struggle. For this book, Mr. Hemingway is being liberally rewarded—if he does not object to the reward being in cash rather than in the quality of his new friends and admirers. And in truth reward is eminently due him from all who hate and fear the Communist Party, from all enemies of a free Spain and a free world, for it may be a long time before they are able to produce again so vicious and subtly clever a piece of red-baiting.

* * *

Tens of thousands of people may perhaps finish reading *For Whom the Bell Tolls* still under the impression that it is favorable to the Spanish Republic. Then later it will occur to a certain percentage of them to wonder where and how they picked up, unsuspecting, such peculiar ideas of what that republic stood for and how it conducted its war. That time will be when the

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Spanish people rise against their present brutal oppressors. Steeled and disciplined by their long and bitter battles for liberty and led by the heroic Communist Party of Spain, they will take their destiny into their own hands and win at last freedom and peace and happiness. And that day of the Spanish Soviet Republic will be much sooner than most suspect.

In the meantime, Hemingway or no Hemingway, millions and millions the world over will more and more look for inspiration and guidance to the tower of strength and light that the Spanish people erected in the course of their bloody martyrdom. From that strength, millions will gain courage to face and overcome the insane fury, the mad destructiveness of a dying capitalist world order. By that light, millions will see the truth about the bloodbath into which, for the sake of giant profits for others, they are expected to hurl themselves on one another.

The Soviet Union alone has a clean record and a clear conscience with regard to Spain. All other states and governments (save Mexico) have disclosed their democratic and humanitarian bankruptcy in their treatment of the Spanish struggle and the Spanish refugees. Today they stand exposed, continuing *in the imperialist war* the policy of conquest and greed which in 1936-39 caused them to throttle or defy popular opinion and stain their hands indelibly with the blood of the Spanish people and of some of the best sons of the international working class. The imperialist powers bear equal responsibility for the crushing of Spain; today they bear equal responsibility for the savage war that engulfs daily more and more of the world. The Soviet Union aided Spain with generous help without which the republic would quickly have collapsed; today as then the Soviet Union stands as a haven of peace, prosperity, and freedom.

As with states, so also with political parties. Alone of all parties and groups in Spain, the Communist Party held firm and true to the cause of the people. Its program alone pointed the way to victory. Today, after the bankruptcy and collapse of the confused and the suicidal policies against which it tirelessly struggled, the Communist Party alone fights on, mobilizing and uniting the Spanish people for great and successful struggles to come.

The tortured and oppressed millions of the world, learning from and following the example of the Spanish Communist Party and the Soviet Union, will fight and win their way to socialism and freedom.

These are the great basic lessons of Spain. Mr. Hemingway in his latest book turns his back on these lessons and faces in a reactionary direction. For that reason, history will reject this book and sweep it aside as a minute obstruction in the forward march.

BERNARD RAND

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